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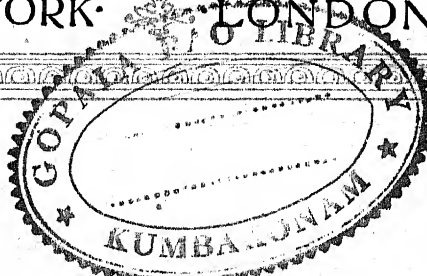
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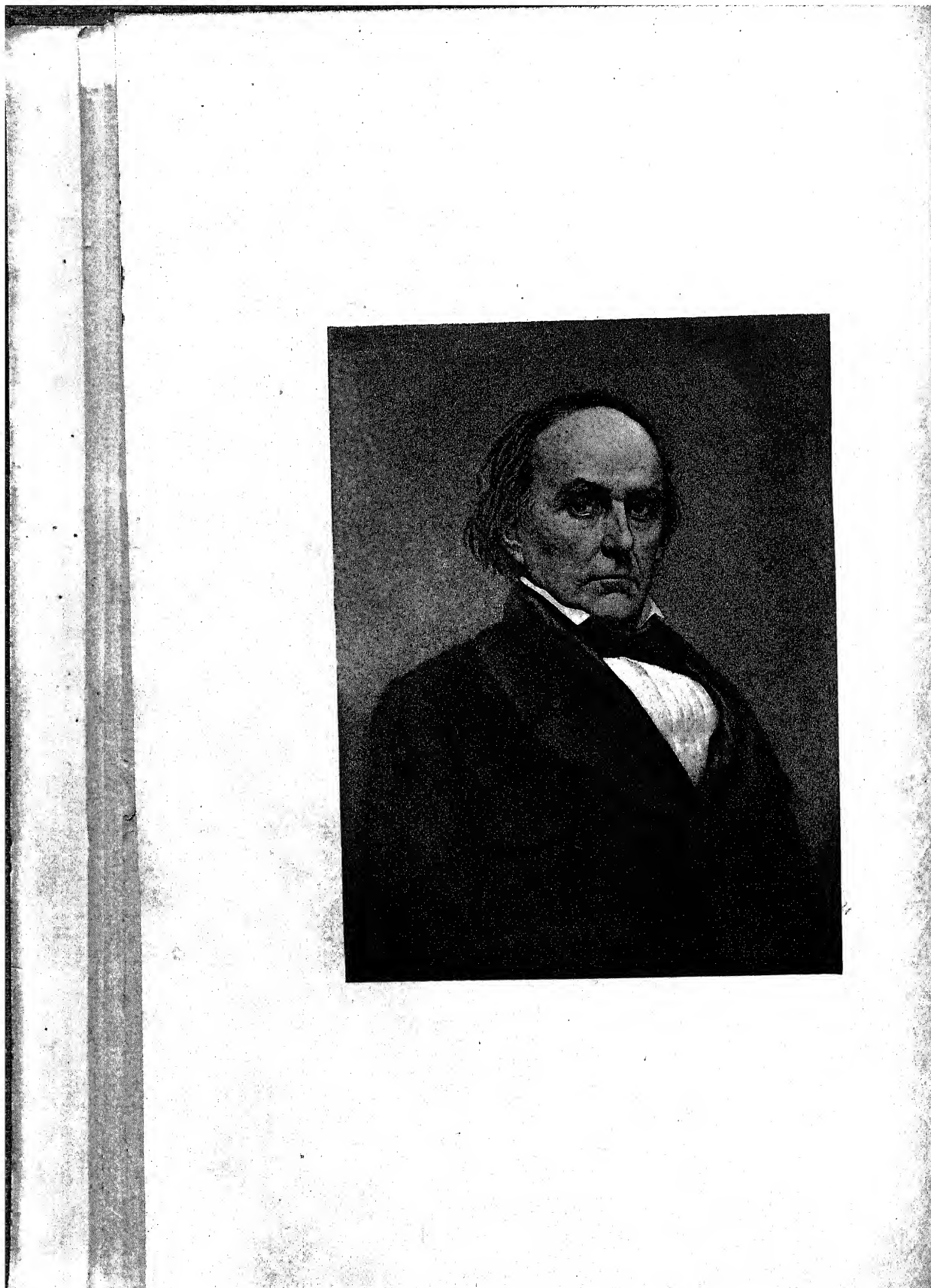
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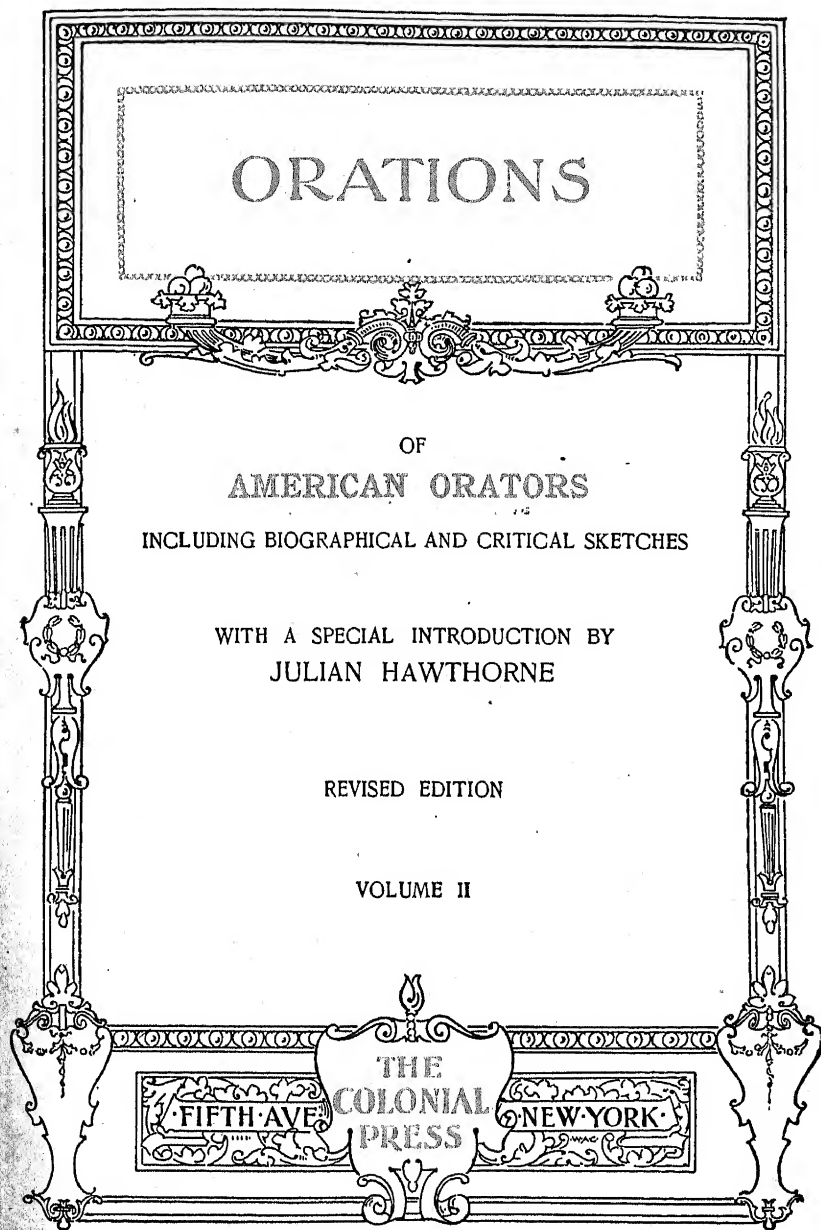


DANIEL WEBSTER.

Photogravure from the daguerreotype by W. G. Jackman.



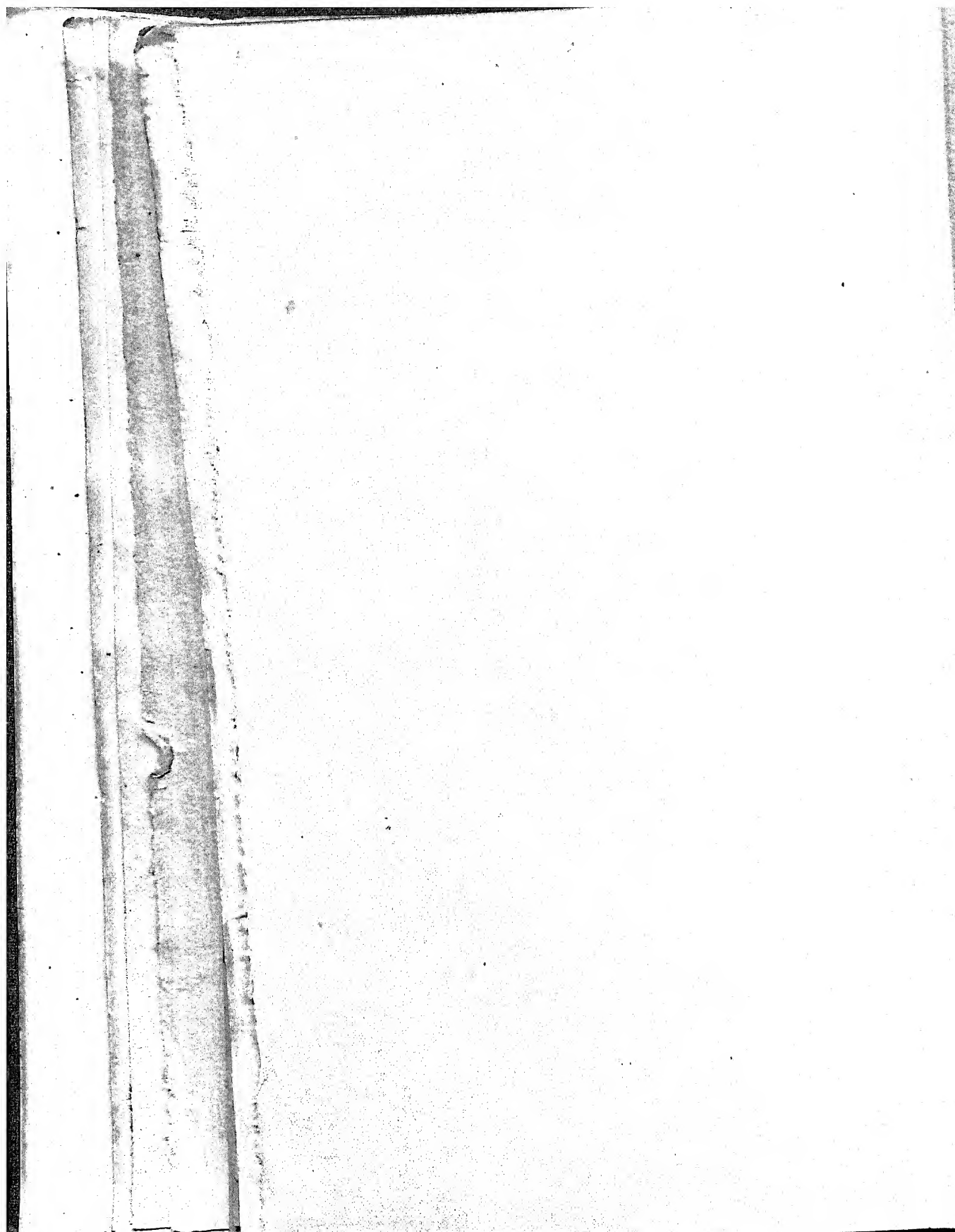
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DANIEL WEBSTER

1782—1852

It is perhaps impossible to decide which orator of ancient and modern times has been in all respects the greatest of all. The reason is, of course, that no one is able to estimate the value of the "personal equation," which, in oratory more than in other things, is a factor in the problem. Moreover, the special circumstances under which a given oration is delivered exercise an immense influence in the general effect upon the hearers. The fact that Lincoln spoke at Gettysburg gave his noble words a weight and pathos which they would not have had elsewhere. When Webster answered Hayne, the spectre of disunion had already cast over the country the shadow of its pestilential wings. These elements help the orator, as sunshine and verdure, shade and color, help the temple—which had no great impressiveness in the architect's drawing. The student sees only the printed page, and must reconstruct from memory or information the surroundings of the occasion, and the personality of the man.

After making all allowances, however, it is at least highly probable that Webster, when he made that speech in reply to Hayne, was, then and there, the greatest of all orators living or dead. That speech was not the mere effort of the moment; it was the sum and substance of his whole moral, intellectual, and political life, gathered up into one thunderbolt of eloquence, and launched at once into human history. That speech was his creed, his experience, his aspiration, his work in the world—in short, it was himself. After reading that, all else that Webster spoke sounds like an echo, a prophecy, or a reminiscence; we need not linger over them; we have seen the orator at his apogee, superb with the light that never was on sea or land. The hour and the man met, and were glorified together.

Webster was born at Salisbury (Franklin), N. H., on January 18, 1782. He got his earliest instruction from his mother, and his family, by rigid economy, were able to send him to Exeter Academy and Dartmouth College, where he graduated in 1801; afterwards studying law and being admitted to practice in 1805. As a boy he had found it difficult to "speak pieces" on elocution days; and it was not until he made his Fourth of July oration in Dartmouth that anyone supposed he had the possibility of oratory in him. It was an ornamental and rather heavy performance; but it contained ideas, and pleased the village audience highly.

Indeed, he had furnished himself, in his early reading, with the best models; he was familiar with the Bible, as well as with Milton and a few other great writers of poetry and prose; and he knew by heart, and had thoroughly analyzed, the constitution of the United States. That constitution, and all that it meant and implied, was the central thought of his life; around that everything was grouped; to vindicate and champion it was the mission of his life. And well was he fitted for the enterprise. His form and face were incarnate dignity and eloquence;

States three propositions: first, the disavowal of the act; secondly, the immediate restoration, so far as circumstances would permit, of the men forcibly taken from the ship; and, thirdly, a suitable pecuniary provision for the sufferers in consequence of the attack on the *Cherokee*, concluding with these words:

"These honorable propositions are made with the desire that they may prove satisfactory to the government of the United States, and I trust they will meet with the reception which their conciliatory nature entitles them to. I need scarcely add how cordially I join with you in the hope that they might prove introductory to a removal of all the causes depending between our two countries."

I adduce this historic instance to illustrate particular forms of reparation. Here, of course, was reparation to individuals; but there was also reparation to the nation whose sovereignty had been outraged.

There is another instance, which is not without parallel. In 1837 an armed force from Upper Canada crossed the frontier just above the falls of Niagara, and burned an American schooner, the *Caroline*, while moored to the shores of the United States. Mr. Webster, in his negotiation with Lord Ashburton, characterized this act as "of itself a wrong, and an offense against the sovereignty and the dignity of the United States." It was, which, to this day, no atonement, or even apology, had been made by Her Majesty's government—all these considerations were strictly applicable to the present case. Lord Ashburton's reply, after recapitulating some mitigating circumstances, expressed a regret "that some explanation and satisfaction on this occurrence was not immediately made," produced.

"Her Majesty's government earnestly desire that the respect for the independent jurisdiction and authority of the neighboring States may be considered among the first objects of the British governments; and I have to repeat the assurance that I feel that the event of which I am treating should have been a source of the harmony they so anxiously wish to maintain with the American people and government."

Here again was reparation for a wrong done to the United States. Looking at what is due to us on the present occasion, we are brought again to the conclusion that the satisfactory

uals whose ships have been burned or sunk is only a small part of what we may justly expect. As in the earlier cases where the national sovereignty was insulted, there should be an acknowledgment of wrong, or at least of liability, leaving to the commissioners the assessment of damages only. The blow inflicted by that fatal proclamation which insulted our national sovereignty and struck at our unity as a nation, followed by broadside upon broadside, driving our commerce from the ocean, was kindred in character to those earlier blows; and when we consider that it was in aid of slavery, it was a blow at civilization itself. Besides degrading us and ruining our commerce, its direct and constant influence was to encourage the rebellion, and to prolong the war waged by slaveholders at such cost of treasure and blood. It was a terrible mistake, which I cannot doubt that good Englishmen must regret. And now, in the interest of peace, it is the duty of both sides to find a remedy, complete, just, and conciliatory, so that the deep sense of wrong and the detriment to the republic may be forgotten in that proper satisfaction which a nation loving justice cannot hesitate to offer.

Individual losses may be estimated with reasonable accuracy. Ships burnt or sunk with their cargoes may be counted, and their value determined; but this leaves without recognition the vaster damage to commerce driven from the ocean, and that other damage, immense and infinite, caused by the prolongation of the war, all of which may be called national in contradistinction to individual.

Our national losses have been frankly conceded by eminent Englishmen. I have already quoted Mr. Cobden, who did not hesitate to call them "cruel losses." During the same debate in which he let drop this testimony, he used other words, which show how justly he comprehended the case. "You have been," said he, "carrying on hostilities from these shores against the people of the United States, and have been inflicting an amount of damage on that country greater than would be produced by many ordinary wars. It is estimated that the loss sustained by the capture and burning of American vessels has been about \$15,000,000, or nearly £3,000,000 sterling. But that is a small part of the injury which has been inflicted on the American marine. We have rendered the rest of her vast mer-

cantile property for the present valueless." Thus, by the testimony of Mr. Cobden, were those individual losses which are alone recognized by the pending treaty only "a small part of the injury inflicted." After confessing his fears with regard to "the heaping up of a gigantic material grievance" such as was then accumulating, he adds, in memorable words:

"You have already done your worst towards the American mercantile marine. What with the high rate of insurance, what with these captures, and what with the rapid transfer of tonnage to British capitalists you have virtually made valueless that vast property. Why, if you had gone and helped the Confederates by bombarding all the accessible seaport towns of America, a few lives might have been lost, which, as it is, have not been sacrificed; but you could hardly have done more injury in the way of destroying property than you have done by these few cruisers."

With that clearness of vision which he possessed in such rare degree, this statesman saw that England had "virtually made valueless a vast property," as much as if this power had "bombarded all the accessible seaport towns of America."

So strong and complete is this statement, that any further citation seems superfluous; but I cannot forbear adducing a pointed remark in the same debate, by that able gentleman Mr. William E. Forster:

"There could not," said he, "be a stronger illustration of the damage which had been done to the American trade by these cruisers than the fact, that, so completely was the American flag driven from the ocean, the Georgia on her second cruise did not meet a single American vessel in six weeks, though she saw no less than seventy vessels in a very few days."

This is most suggestive. So entirely was our commerce driven from the ocean, that for six weeks not an American vessel was seen!

Another Englishman, in an elaborate pamphlet, bears similar testimony. I refer to the pamphlet of Mr. Edge, published in London by Ridgway, in 1863, and entitled "The Destruction of the American Carrying Trade." After setting forth at length the destruction of our commerce by British pirates, this writer thus foreshadows the damages:

mand compensation for the loss of the property captured or destroyed, for the interest of the capital invested in the vessels and their cargoes, and, maybe, a fair compensation in addition for all and any injury accruing to our business interests from the depredations upon our shipping. The remuneration may reach a high figure in the present case; but it would be a simple act of justice, and might prevent an incomparably greater loss in the future."

Here we have the damages assessed by an Englishman, who, while contemplating remuneration at a high figure, recognizes it as "a simple act of justice."

Such is the candid and explicit testimony of Englishmen, pointing the way to the proper rule of damages. How to authenticate the extent of national loss with reasonable certainty is not without difficulty; but it cannot be doubted that such a loss occurred. It is folly to question it. The loss may be seen in various circumstances: as, in the rise of insurance on all American vessels; the fate of the carrying-trade, which was one of the great resources of our country; the diminution of our tonnage, with the corresponding increase of British tonnage, the falling off in our exports and imports, with due allowance for our abnormal currency and the diversion of war. These are some of the elements; and here again we have British testimony. Mr. W. E. Forster, in the speech already quoted, announces that "the carrying trade of the United States was transferred to British merchants"; and Mr. Cobden, with his characteristic mastery of details, shows, that, according to an official document laid on the table of Parliament, American shipping had been transferred to English capitalists as follows: In 1858, thirty-three vessels, 12,684 tons; 1859, forty-nine vessels, 21,308 tons; 1860, forty-one vessels, 13,638 tons; 1861, one hundred and twenty-six vessels, 71,673 tons; 1862, one hundred and thirty-five vessels, 64,578 tons; and 1863, three hundred and forty-eight vessels, 252,579 tons; and he adds, "I am told that this operation is now going on as fast as ever"; and this circumstance he declares to be "the most serious aspect of the question of our relations with America." But this "most serious aspect" is left untouched by the pending treaty.

Our own official documents are in harmony with these English authorities. For instance, I have before me now the report

of the Secretary of the Treasury for 1868, with an appendix by Mr. Nimmo, on shipbuilding in our country. From this report it appears that in the New England States during the year 1868 the most prosperous year of American shipbuilding, 305 steamships and barks and 173 schooners were built, with an aggregate tonnage of 326,429 tons, while during the last year only 58 steamships and barks and 213 schooners were built, with an aggregate tonnage of 98,697 tons. I add a further statement from the same report:

"During the ten years from 1852 to 1862 the aggregate tonnage of American vessels entered at seaports of the United States from foreign countries was 30,225,475 tons, and the aggregate tonnage of foreign vessels entered was 14,699,192 tons, while during the five years from 1863 to 1868 the aggregate tonnage of American vessels entered was 9,299,877 tons, and the aggregate tonnage of foreign vessels entered was 14,116,444 tons—showing that American tonnage in our foreign trade has fallen from two hundred and five to sixty-six per cent. of foreign tonnage in the same trade. Stated in other terms, during the decade from 1852 to 1862 sixty-seven per cent. of the total tonnage entered from foreign countries was in American vessels, and during the five years from 1863 to 1868 only thirty-nine per cent. of the aggregate tonnage entered from foreign countries was in American vessels—a relative falling off of nearly one-half."

It is not easy to say how much of this change, which has become chronic, may be referred to British pirates; but it cannot be doubted that they contributed largely to produce it. They began the influences under which this change has continued.

There is another document which bears directly upon the present question. I refer to the interesting report of Mr. Morse, our consul at London, made during the last year, and published by the Secretary of State. After a minute inquiry, the report shows that on the breaking out of the Rebellion in 1861 the entire tonnage of the United States, coasting and registered, was 5,539,813 tons, of which 2,642,628 tons were registered and employed in foreign trade, and that at the close of the Rebellion in 1865, notwithstanding an increase in coasting tonnage, our registered tonnage had fallen to 1,602,528 tons, being a loss during the four years of more than a million tons, amounting

to about forty per cent. of our foreign commerce. During the same four years the total tonnage of the British Empire rose from 5,895,369 tons to 7,322,604 tons, the increase being especially in the foreign trade. The report proceeds to say that as to the cause of the decrease in America and the corresponding increase in the British Empire "there can be no room for question or doubt." Here is the precise testimony from one who at his official post in London watched this unprecedented drama, with the outstretched ocean as a theatre, and British pirates as the performers:

"Conceding to the rebels the belligerent rights of the sea, when they had not a solitary war-ship afloat, in dock, or in the process of construction, and when they had no power to protect or dispose of prizes, made their sea-rovers, when they appeared, the instruments of terror and destruction to our commerce. From the appearance of the first corsair in pursuit of their ships, American merchants had to pay not only the marine, but the war risk also, on their ships. After the burning of one or two ships with their neutral cargoes, the shipowner had to pay the war risk on the cargo his ship had on freight, as well as on the ship. Even then, for safety, the preference was, as a matter of course, always given to neutral vessels, and American ships could rarely find employment on these hard terms as long as there were good neutral ships in the freight markets. Under such circumstances there was no course left for our merchant shipowners but to take such profitless business as was occasionally offered them, let their ships lie idle at their moorings or in dock with large expense and deterioration constantly going on, to sell them outright when they could do so without ruinous sacrifice, or put them under foreign flags for protection."

Beyond the actual loss in the national tonnage, there was a further loss in the arrest of our natural increase in this branch of industry, which an intelligent statistician puts at five per cent. annually, making in 1866 a total loss on this account of 1,384,953 tons, which must be added to 1,229,035 tons actually lost. The same statistician, after estimating the value of a ton at forty dollars gold, and making allowance for old and new ships, puts the sum total of national loss on this account at \$110,000,000. Of course this is only an item in our bill.

To these authorities I add that of the National Board of Trade, which, in a recent report on American shipping, after setting forth the diminution of our sailing tonnage, says that it is nearly all to be traced to the war on the ocean; and the result is summed up in the words, that, "while the tonnage of the nation was rapidly disappearing by the ravages of the rebellious cruisers and by sales abroad, in addition to the usual loss by the perils of the sea, there was no construction of new vessels going forward to counteract the decline even in part." Such is the various testimony, all tending to one conclusion.

This is what I have to say for the present on national losses through the destruction of commerce. These are large enough; but there is another chapter, where they are larger far: I refer, of course, to the national losses caused by the prolongation of the war, and traceable directly to England. Pardon me, if I confess the regret with which I touch this prodigious item; for I know well the depth of feeling which it is calculated to stir. But I cannot hesitate. It belongs to the case. No candid person, who studies this eventful period, can doubt that the Rebellion was originally encouraged by hope of support from England; that it was strengthened at once by the concession of belligerent rights on the ocean; that it was fed to the end by British supplies; that it was encouraged by every well-stored British ship that was able to defy our blockade; that it was quickened into frantic life with every report from the British pirates, flaming anew with every burning ship; nor can it be doubted that without British intervention the Rebellion would have soon succumbed under the well-directed efforts of the national government. Not weeks or months, but years, were added in this way to our war, so full of costly sacrifice. The subsidies which in other times England contributed to continental wars were less effective than the aid and comfort which she contributed to the Rebellion. It cannot be said too often that the naval base of the Rebellion was not in America, but in England. The blockade-runners and the pirate ships were all English. England was the fruitful parent, and these were the "hell-hounds," pictured by Milton in his description of Sin, which, "when they list would creep into her womb and kennel there." Mr. Cobden boldly said in the House of Commons that England made war from her shores on the United States.

with "an amount of damage to that country greater than would be produced by many ordinary wars." According to this testimony, the conduct of England was war; but it must not be forgotten that this war was carried on at our sole cost. The United States paid for a war waged by England upon the national unity.

There was one form that this war assumed which was incessant, most vexatious, and costly, besides being in itself a positive alliance with the Rebellion. It was that of blockade-runners, openly equipped and supplied by England under the shelter of that baleful proclamation. Constantly leaving English ports, they stole across the ocean, and then broke the blockade. These active agents of the Rebellion could be counteracted only by a network of vessels stretching along the coast, at great cost to the country. Here is another distinct item, the amount of which may be determined at the Navy Department.

The sacrifice of precious life is beyond human compensation; but there may be an approximate estimate of the national loss in treasure. Everybody can make the calculation. I content myself with calling attention to the elements which enter into it. Besides the blockade, there was the prolongation of the war. The Rebellion was suppressed at a cost of more than four thousand million dollars, a considerable portion of which has been already paid, leaving twenty-five hundred millions as a national debt to burden the people. If, through British intervention, the war was doubled in duration, or in any way extended, as cannot be doubted, then is England justly responsible for the additional expenditure to which our country was doomed; and whatever may be the final settlement of these great accounts, such must be the judgment in any chancery which consults the simple equity of the case.

This plain statement, without one word of exaggeration or aggravation, is enough to exhibit the magnitude of the national losses, whether from the destruction of our commerce, the prolongation of the war, or the expense of the blockade. They stand before us mountain high, with a base broad as the nation, and a mass stupendous as the Rebellion itself. It will be for a wise statesmanship to determine how this fearful accumulation, like Ossa, upon Pelion, shall be removed out of sight, so that it shall no longer overshadow the two countries.

Perhaps I ought to anticipate an objection from the other side, to the effect that these national losses, whether from the destruction of our commerce, the prolongation of the war, or the expense of the blockade, are indirect and remote, so as not to be a just ground of claim. This is expressed at the common law by the rule that "damages must be for the natural and proximate consequence of an act." To this excuse the answer is explicit. The damages suffered by the United States are twofold, individual and national, being in each direct and proximate, although in the one case individuals suffered, and in the other case the nation. It is easy to see that there may be occasions, where, overtopping all individual damages, are damages suffered by the nation, so that reparation to individuals would be insufficient. Nor can the claim of the nation be questioned simply because it is large, or because the evidence with regard to it is different from that in the case of an individual. In each case the damage must be proved by the best possible evidence, and this is all that law or reason can require. In the case of the nation the evidence is historic; and this is enough. In partial history will record the national losses from British intervention, and it is only reasonable that the evidence of these losses should not be excluded from judgment. Because the case is without precedent, because no nation ever before received such injury from a friendly power, this can be no reason why the question should not be considered on the evidence.

Even the rule of the common law furnishes no impediment for our damages are the natural consequences of what was done. But the rule of the Roman law, which is the rule of international law, is broader than that of the common law. The measure of damages, according to the Digest, is, "Whatever may have been lost or might have been gained"—*Quantum minus abest, quantumque lucrari potui*; and this same rule seems to prevail in the French law, borrowed from the Roman law. This rule opens the door to ample reparation for all damages, whether individual or national.

There is another rule of the common law in harmony with strict justice, which is applicable in the case. I find it in the law relating to nuisances, which provides that there may be two distinct proceedings—first, in behalf of individuals, and secondly

uals does not supersede reparation to the community. The proceeding in the one case is by action at law, and in the other by indictment. The reason assigned by Blackstone for the latter is, "Because the damages being common to all the king's subjects no one can assign his particular proportion of it." But this is the very case with regard to damages sustained by the nation.

A familiar authority furnishes an additional illustration, which is precisely in point:

"No person, natural or corporate, can have an action for a public nuisance, or punish it—but only the king, in his public capacity of supreme governor and *paterfamilias* of the kingdom. Yet this rule admits of one exception; where a private person suffers some extraordinary damage beyond the rest of the king's subjects."

Applying this rule to the present case, the way is clear. Every British pirate was a public nuisance involving the British government, which must respond in damages, not only to the individuals who have suffered, but also to the national government, acting as *paterfamilias* for the common good of all the people.

Thus by an analogy of the common law in the case of a public nuisance, also by the strict rule of the Roman law, which enters so largely into international law, and even by the rule of the common law relating to damages, all losses, whether individual or national, are the just subject of claim. It is not I who say this; it is the law. The colossal sum total may be seen, not only in the losses of individuals, but in those national losses caused by the destruction of our commerce, the prolongation of the war, and the expense of the blockade, all of which may be charged directly to England:

" — *illud ab uno*
Corpore, et ex una pendebat origine bellum."

Three times is the liability fixed: first, by the concession of ocean belligerency, opening to the rebels shipyards, foundries, and manufactories, and giving to them a flag on the ocean; secondly, by the organization of hostile expeditions, which, by admission in Parliament, were nothing less than piratical war on the United States with England as the naval base; and thirdly, by welcome, hospitality, and supplies extended to these

pirate ships in ports of the British Empire. Show either these, and the liability of England is complete; show the threat and this power is bound by a triple cord.

Mr. President, in concluding these remarks, I desire to say that I am no volunteer. For several years I have carefully avoided saying anything on this most irritating question, being anxious that negotiations should be left undisturbed to secure a settlement which could be accepted by a deeply injured nation. The submission of the pending treaty to the judgment of the Senate left me no alternative. It became my duty to consider it carefully in committee, and to review the whole subject. I failed to find what we had a right to expect, and if the just claims of our country assumed unexpected proportions, it was not because I would bear hard on England, but because I wish most sincerely to remove all possibility of strife between our two countries; and it is evident that this can be done only by first ascertaining the nature and extent of difference. In this spirit I have spoken to-day. If the case against England is strong, and if our claims are unprecedented in magnitude, it is only because the conduct of this power at a trying period was most unfriendly, and the injurious consequences of this conduct were on a scale corresponding to the theatre of action. Life and property were both swallowed up, leaving behind a deep-seated sense of enormous wrong, as yet unatoned and even unacknowledged, which is one of the chief factors in the problem now presented to the statesmen of both countries. The attempt to close this great international debate without a complete settlement is little short of puerile.

With the lapse of time and with minuter consideration the case against England becomes more grave, not only from the questions of international responsibility which it involves, but from better comprehension of the damages, which are seen now in their true proportions. During the war, and for some time thereafter, it was impossible to state them. The mass of a mountain cannot be measured at its base; the observer must occupy a certain distance; and this rule of perspective is justly applicable to damages, which are vast beyond precedent.

A few dates will show the progress of the controversy, and how the case enlarged. Going as far back as November 20, 1862, we find our minister in London, Mr. Adams, calling for redress from the British government on account of the Al-

bama. This was the mild beginning. On October 23, 1863, in another communication, the same minister suggested to the British government any "fair and equitable form of conventional arbitrament or reference." This proposition slumbered in the British Foreign Office for nearly two years, during which the Alabama was pursuing her piratical career, when, on August 30, 1865, it was awakened by Lord Russell only to be knocked down in these words:

"In your letter of October 23, 1863, you were pleased to say that the government of the United States is ready to agree to any form of arbitration. . . . Her Majesty's government must, therefore, decline either to make reparation and compensation for the captures made by the Alabama, or to refer the question to any foreign state."

Such was our repulse from England, having at least the merit of frankness, if nothing else. On October 17, 1865, our minister informed Lord Russell that the United States had finally resolved to make no effort for arbitration. Again the whole question slumbered until August 27, 1866, when Mr. Seward presented a list of individual claims on account of the pirate Alabama and other rebel cruisers. From that time negotiation has continued, with ups and downs, until at last the pending treaty was signed. Had the early overtures of our government been promptly accepted, or had there been at any time a just negotiation of the wrong done, I doubt not that this great question would have been settled; but the rejection of our very moderate propositions, and the protracted delay, which afforded an opportunity to review the case in its different bearings, have awakened the people to the magnitude of the interests involved. If our demands are larger now than at our first call, it is not the only time in history when such a rise has occurred. The story of the Sibyl is repeated; and England is the Roman king.

Shall these claims be liquidated and cancelled promptly, or allowed to slumber until called into activity by some future exigency? There are many among us, who, taking counsel of a sense of national wrong, would leave them to rest without settlement, so as to furnish a precedent for retaliation in kind, should England find herself at war. There are many in England, who, taking counsel of a perverse political bigotry have spurned them absolutely; and there are others, who invoking

the point of honor, assert that England cannot do without compromising her honor. Thus there both sides. It is not difficult to imagine one of men saying with Shakespeare's Jew, "The villany I will execute, and it shall go hard, but I will better it." Nor is it difficult to imagine an Englishman conceit that no apology can be made and nothing not sympathize with either side. Be the claims they are honestly presented, with the conviction just; and they should be considered candidly, so that no longer lower, like a cloud ready to burst upon which, according to their inclinations, can do each infinite injury or such infinite good. I know it said that war between us must come sooner or later, believe it. But if it must come, let it be later, and sure it will never come. Meanwhile, good men make it impossible.

Again I say, this debate is not of my seeking. It is; for it compels criticism of a foreign power would have more than peace, more even than concord cannot be avoided. The truth must be told—not in sadness. England has done to the United States most difficult to measure. Considering when it was in what complicity, it is truly unaccountable. At a time of history, not less momentous than that of the Reformation or that of the Reformation, when civilization was a last battle with slavery, England gave her name, her material resources to the wicked cause, and fell into the scale with slavery. Here was a portent. Strange that the land of Wilberforce, after spending for emancipation, after proclaiming everywhere liberty and ascending to glorious primacy in the movement for the universal abolition of slavery, could do. Like every departure from the rule of justice and brotherhood, her conduct was pernicious in proportion of operations, affecting individuals, corporations, and the nation itself. And yet down to this day acknowledgment of this wrong—not a single word generous expression would be the beginning of amendment, and the best assurance of that harmony great and kindred nations which all must desire.

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EARLY VENETIAN PRINTING.

Frontispiece printed in 1521 at Venice by Bernardino de Tili.

The frontispiece was a special feature in Venetian book-plates. The design often included the book-plate, or trade-mark of the printer. The printer seems to have adopted St. Jerome as the patron for the book. In the present instance, where the great scholar, the author of the authorized Latin version of the Scriptures, is represented as seated, and the lion, his usual emblem, crouching at his feet. Other early frontispieces see in the writer and the lion a representation of St. Mark the Evangelist, who was particularly honored at Venice. The coloring and typography are striking. The ruby border, the bold clear lettering and space a beautiful combination.



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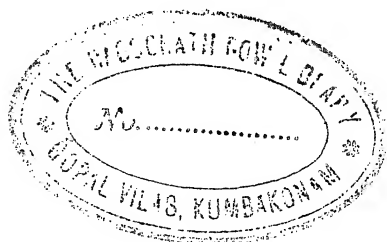
ALEXANDER HAMILTON STEPHENS

1812—1883

To record the life of Alexander Stephens is to write the value of honesty and truthfulness. He became the ideal statesman of millions of his countrymen not only because he was far-seeing and judicious and dispassionate, but because he had the rarer quality of perfect sincerity. He was often wrong in his convictions, his judgment was often at fault, and, like many other statesmen in the feverish years that preceded the Civil War, he was sometimes swayed unconsciously by prejudice. But he would tolerate no political juggling, he spoke what he thought without fear; his hobby was sincerity. He considered public issues in the light of practical truth, stripped of the wrappings of sentiment and passion. In this he resembled Lincoln. Such men are seldom bred in the troubled atmosphere of American politics. Lincoln of the North, and Stephens, of the South, stand alone in the epoch of the Civil War.

Alexander Stephens was born in Taliaferro County, Georgia, on February 11, 1812. He was raised on the soil of slavery, and saw it at its best and worst. He became a lawyer, and, in 1836, was elected to the State Legislature, after a hot campaign in which he antagonized the popular idea of nullification. In 1843 he was sent to Congress where he represented Georgia until the outbreak of the Civil War. He was a believer in the doctrine of State rights. He considered slavery a righteous institution, and sought to perpetuate it, but he thought the policy of secession was an unwise one. It was his settled conviction that the Union was essential to prosperity. He had the courage to state his views on the eve of rebellion, and at secession conventions, where he constituted an undaunted but hopeless minority. When Georgia formally left the Union he went with his State, in accordance with his idea of State rights. His fearless advocacy of peace won him many followers among the cooler heads at the South, and he was elected Vice-President of the Confederacy.

Stephens' attempts to negotiate an amicable settlement of the whole question during the early days of the war, his disagreements with the Confederate Cabinet, and his arrest and detention at Fort Warren in Boston Harbor after Lee's surrender, are matters of history. In 1862 he was elected to Congress from Georgia. He served continuously in that body until his resignation in 1882. During this time he wrote "The War Between the States," which is recognized as the best constitutional defence of the South's attitude. He spent the closing years of his life at Liberty Hall, his plantation near Crawfordville, Georgia. Here he was surrounded by his former slaves, who refused to leave him when they found themselves free at the close of the war. His speech on "The Future of the South" is a good example of the many speeches he made in behalf of peace and harmony. He died at Atlanta on March 4, 1883.



THE FUTURE OF THE SOUTH

Delivered before the Legislature of Georgia, February 22, 1866

GENTLEMEN OF THE SENATE AND HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES: I appear before you in answer to your call. This call coming in the imposing form it does, and under the circumstances it does, requires a response from me. You have assigned to me a very high, a very honorable and responsible position. This position you know I did not seek. Most willingly would I have avoided it; and nothing but an extraordinary sense of duty could have induced me to yield my own disinclinations and aversions to your wishes and judgment in the matter. For this unusual manifestation of esteem and confidence, I return you my profoundest acknowledgements of gratitude. Of one thing only can I give you any assurance, and that is, if I shall be permitted to discharge the trusts thereby imposed, they will be discharged with a singleness of purpose to the public good.

The great object with me now is to see a restoration if possible, of peace, prosperity and constitutional liberty in this once happy, but now disturbed, agitated, and distracted country. To this end, all my energies and efforts, to the extent of their powers, will be devoted.

You ask my views on the existing state of affairs; our duties at the present, and the prospects of the future? This is a task from which, under other circumstances I might very well shrink. He who ventures to speak, and to give counsel and advice in times of peril, or disaster, assumes no enviable position. Far be that rashness from me which sometimes prompts the forward to rush in where angels might fear to tread. In responding, therefore, briefly to your inquiries, I feel, I trust, the full weight and magnitude of the subject. It involves the welfare of millions now living, and that of many

more millions who are to come after us. I am also pressed with the consciousness of the inconceivably smallness of what I shall say upon the momentous results involved in the subject itself.

It is with these feelings I offer my mite of counsel and request. And in the outset of the undertaking, limited as it is intended to be to a few general ideas only, well may I cite an illustrious example of invoking aid from on high—"that I may say nothing on this occasion which may compromise the rights, the honor, the dignity, or best interests of my country." I mean specially the rights, honor, dignity and interests of the people of Georgia. With their suffering and losses, their misfortunes, their bereavements, and their utter prostration, my heart is in deepest sympathy.

We have reached that point in our affairs at which the great question before us is—"To be or not to be?" To be—How? Hope, ever springing in the human breast, prompts, even under the greatest calamities and adversity, never to despair. Adversity is a severe school, a terrible one; both for individuals and communities. We are in this school, this crucible, and should bear in mind that adversity is never negative in its action. It is always positive. It is decided in its effects, one way or the other. It either brings out better or worse. It either brings out unknown vices, or it brings out dormant virtues. In morals its tendency is to make the good reprobates—in politics to make heroes or desperadoes. Its first indication of its working for good, to which hope is anxiously, is the manifestation of a full consciousness of the nature and extent; and the most promising grounds for possible good from our present troubles, or of the chance of us getting better instead of worse, is the evident generalization, on the part of our people, of their present suffering from the evils now upon them, and of the greater ones which are pending. These it is not my purpose to exaggerate in order that that would be useless; nor to lessen or extenuate; that that would be worse than useless. All fully understand and realize them. They feel them. It is well they do.

Can these evils upon us—the absence of law; the want of protection and security of person and property, without which civilization cannot advance—be removed? or can those

ones which threaten our very political existence, be averted? These are the questions.

It is true we have not the control of all the remedies, even if these questions could be satisfactorily answered. Our fortunes and destiny are not entirely in our own hands. Yet there are some things that we may, and can, and ought, in my judgment, to do, from which no harm can come, and from which some good may follow, in bettering our present condition. States and communities as well as individuals, when they have done the best they can in view of surrounding circumstances, with all the lights they have before them—let results be what they may—can at least enjoy the consolation—no small recompense that—of having performed their duty, and of having a conscience void of offence before God and man. This, if no more valuable result, will, I trust, attend the doing of what I propose.

The first great duty, then, I would enjoin at this time, is the exercise of the simple, though difficult and trying, but nevertheless indispensable quality of patience. Patience requires of those afflicted to bear and to suffer with fortitude whatever ills may befall them. This is often, and especially is it the case with us now, essential for their ultimate removal by any instrumentalities whatever. We are in the condition of a man with a dislocated limb, or a broken leg, and a very bad compound fracture at that. How it became broken should not be with him a question of so much importance, as how it can be restored to health, vigor and strength. This requires of him, as the highest duty to himself, to wait quietly and patiently in splints and bandages until nature resumes her active powers—until the vital functions perform their office. The knitting of the bones and the granulation of the flesh require time; perfect quiet and repose, even under the severest pain, is necessary. It will not do to make too great haste to get well; an attempt to walk too soon will only make the matter worse. We must or ought now, therefore, in a similar manner to discipline ourselves to the same or like degree of patience. I know the anxiety and restlessness of the popular mind to be fully on our feet again—to walk abroad as we once did—to enjoy once more the free outdoor air of heaven, with the perfect use of all our limbs. I know how trying it is to be denied representation

in Congress, while we are paying our proportion of —how annoying it is to be even partially under militia and how injurious it is to the general interest and to the country to be without post-offices and mail communications; to say nothing of divers other matters on the score of our present inconveniences and privations. All the same, however, we must patiently bear and endure for a season. In quiet and repose we may get well—may get once more on our feet again. One thing is certain, that bad humor, exhibited either in restlessness or grumbling, will not do.

Next to this, another great duty we owe to ourselves is the exercise of a liberal spirit of forbearance amongst ourselves.

The first step toward local or general harmony is the banishment from our breasts of every feeling and sentiment calculated to stir the discords of the past. Nothing could be more unwise or mischievous to the future of this country, than the revival at present, of questions that divided the people and the country during the existence of the late war. On no occasion, especially in the bestowment of office, ought such old questions of opinion in the past ever to be mentioned, either for or against anyone, otherwise equally entitled to confidence. The feelings or sentiments of other times and circumstances are not the germs from which hopeful organizations can now arise. All differences of opinion, touching errors, or supposed errors, of the head or heart, on the part of any, in the past, growing out of these matters, be at once, in the deep ocean of oblivion ever buried. Let there be no criminations or recriminations on account of acts of other days. No canvassing of past acts or motives. Great disasters are upon us and upon our country, and without inquiring how these originated, or whose door the fault should be laid, let us now as sharers of common misfortunes, on all occasions, consider only as to the best means, under the circumstances as we find them, to secure the best ends toward future amelioration. The object of government is what we want. This should be the leading desire and the controlling object with all; and I need not say to you if this can be obtained, that our desolated fields, our towns and villages, and cities now in ruins, will soon be restored. Phoenix—rise again from their ashes; and all our wars will again, at no distant day, blossom as the rose.

This view should also be born in mind, that whatever differences of opinion existed before the late fury of the war, they sprung mainly from differences as to the best means to be used, and the best line of policy to be pursued, to secure the great controlling object of all—which was good government. Whatever may be said of the loyalty or disloyalty of any, in the late most lamentable conflict of arms, I think I may venture safely to say, that there was, on the part of the great mass of the people of Georgia, and of the entire South, no disloyalty to the principles of the constitution of the United States. To that system of representative government; of delegated and limited powers; that establishment in a new phase, on this continent, of all the essentials of England's Magna Charta, for the protection and security of life, liberty and property; with the additional recognition of the principle as a fundamental truth, that all the political power resides in the people. With us it was simply a question as to where our allegiance was due in the maintenance of these principles—which authority was paramount in the last resort—State or federal. As for myself I can affirm that no sentiment of disloyalty to these great principles of self-government, recognized and embodied in the constitution of the United States, ever beat or throbbed in breast or heart of mine. To their maintenance my whole soul was ever enlisted, and to this end my whole life has heretofore been devoted, and will continue to be the rest of my days—God willing. In devotion to these principles, I yield to no man living. This much I can say for myself; may I not say the same for you and for the great mass of the people of Georgia, and for the great mass of the people of the entire South? Whatever differences existed amongst us arose from differences as to the best and surest means of securing these great ends, which was the object of all. It was with this view and this purpose secession was tried. That has failed. Instead of bettering our condition, instead of establishing our liberties upon a surer foundation, we have, in the war that ensued, come wellnigh losing the whole of the rich inheritance with which we set out.

This is one of the sad realizations of the present. In this, too, we are but illustrating the teachings of history. War and civil wars especially, always menace liberty; they seldom advance it; while they usually end in its entire overthrow and

destruction. Ours stopped just short of such a result. Our only alternative now is, either to give up all constitutional liberty, or to retrace our steps, and to seek vindication and maintenance in the forums of reason and justice, instead of on the arena of arms—in the courts of legislation, instead of on the fields of battle.

I am frank and candid in telling you right honestly that the surest hopes, in my judgment, of these ends, are in the policy of the President of the United States. There is little hope for liberty—little hope for the success of the experiment of self-government—but in the present efforts for the restoration of the States to their practical relations in a common government, and in the substitution of the United States.

We are not without an encouraging example on the history of the mother-country—in the history of our fathers from whom we derived, in great measure, the principles which we are so much devoted. The truest friends of liberty in England once, in 1642, abandoned the forum of law, and appealed, as we did, to the sword, as the surest means of judgment, of advancing their cause. This was a bold step, but it made great progress, under the lead of Coke, Hall, and others, in the advancement of liberty. Many usurpations had been checked; many of the rights of the crown had been curtailed; the petition of right had been sanctioned; ship-money had been abandoned; martial law had been done away with; habeas corpus re-established; high courts of commission and council had been abolished; many other great abuses had been corrected, and other reforms established. Not satisfied with these, and not satisfied with the peaceful means, reason, to go on in its natural sphere, the denial of the right of the crown was pressed by the two armies upon Charles I. All else he had yielded—this he refused. The sword was appealed to, to settle the question. The result was the result; great valor and courage were shown on both sides; men of eminent virtue and patriotism engaged in a sanguinary and fratricidal conflict; the king was executed; a commonwealth proclaimed. But the reduction of the people of England to a worse

pression than they had been in for centuries. They retraced their steps. After nearly twenty years of exhaustion and blood, and the loss of the greater portion of the liberties enjoyed by them before, they, by almost unanimous consent, called for restoration. The restoration came. Charles II ascended the throne, as unlimited a monarch as ever ruled the empire. Not a pledge was asked or a guarantee given, touching the concessions of the royal prerogative, that had been exacted and obtained from his father.

The true friends of liberty, of reform and of progress in government, had become convinced that these were the offspring of peace and of enlightened reason, and not of passion nor of arms. The House of Commons and the House of Lords were henceforth the theatres of their operations, and not the fields of Newbury or Marston Moor. The result was, that in less than thirty years, all their ancient rights and privileges, which had been lost in the civil war, with new securities, were re-established in the ever-memorable settlement of 1688; which, for all practical purposes, may be looked upon as a bloodless revolution. Since that time England has made still further and more signal strides in reform and progress. But not one of these has been effected by resort to arms. Catholic emancipation was carried in Parliament, after years of argument, against the most persistent opposition. Reason and justice ultimately prevailed. So with the removal of the disability of the Jews—so with the overthrow of the rotten borough system—so with the extension of franchise—so with the modification of the corn-laws, and restrictions on commerce, opening the way to the establishment of the principles of free-trade—and so with all the other great reforms by Parliament, which have so distinguished English history for the last half century.

May we not indulge hope, even in the alternative before us now, from this great example of restoration, if we but do as the friends of liberty there did? This is my hope, my only hope. It is founded on the virtue, intelligence and patriotism of the American people. I have not lost my faith in the people, or in their capacity for self-government. But for these great essential qualities of human nature, to be brought into active and efficient exercise, for the fulfilment of patriotic hopes, it is

essential that the passions of the day should subside. The causes of these passions should not now be discussed. The members of the late strife shall not be stirred.

Man by nature is ever prone to scan closely the defects of his fellow-man—ever ready to rail at the brother's eye, without considering the beam that is in his own eye. This should not be. We all have our motes or blemishes. We are all frail; perfection is the attribute of none. Prejudice and judgment should be indulged toward none. Prejudice, in its various wrongs, what injuries, what mischiefs, what lamentable consequences, have resulted at all times from nothing but the weakness of the intellect! Of all the obstacles to the advancement of truth and human progress, in every department of science, in art, in government, and in religion, in all ages, not one on the list is more formidable, more difficult to overcome and subdue, than this horrible distortion of the truth, as well as intellectual faculties. It is a host of evils. I could enjoin no greater duty upon my countrymen, North and South, than the exercise of that degree of candor which would enable them to conquer their prejudices. One of the highest exhibitions of the moral sublimity ever witnessed was that of Daniel Webster, when, in his barouche in the streets of Boston, he proclaimed to a vast assembly of his constituents—unwillingly, it is true—that “they had conquered an uncongenial climate; they had conquered a sterile soil; they had conquered the currents of the ocean; they had conquered the elements of nature; but they must yet learn to conquer their prejudices!” I know of no more fitting incident in the life of that wonderful man, “*Clarus et vir fortis*,” than the perpetuating the memory of the true greatness of his character on canvas or in marble, than a representation of him in the hall of the Senate, and there stood and spoke! It was an exhibition of grandeur surpassing that of Aristides when he stood before the Athenians, what Themistocles recommends would be to your interest, but it would be unjust!”

I say to you, and if my voice could extend throughout the country, over hill and dale, over mountain and valley, over hamlet and mansion, village, town and city, that the first among the first, looking to restoration of peace,

harmony in this land, is the great duty of exercising that degree of forbearance which will enable them to conquer their prejudices. Prejudices against communities as well as individuals.

And next to that the indulgence of a Christian spirit of charity. "Judge not that ye be not judged," especially in matters growing out of the late war. Most of the wars that have scourged the world, even in the Christian era, have arisen on points of conscience, or differences as to the surest way of salvation. A strange way that to heaven, is it not? How much disgrace to the church, and shame to mankind, would have been avoided, if the ejaculation of each breast had been, at all times, as it should have been,

"Let not this weak, unknowing hand,
Presume Thy bolts to throw;
And deal damnation round the land,
On him I deem Thy foe."

How equally proper is it now, when the spirit of peace seems to be hovering over our war-stricken land, that in canvassing the conduct or motives of others during the late conflict, this great truth should be impressed upon the minds of all,

"Who made the heart? 'Tis He alone
Decidedly can try us;
He knows each chord, its various tone,
Each spring, its various bias;
Then at the balance, let's be mute,
We never can adjust it;
What's done, we partly may commute,
But know not what's resisted."

Of all the heaven-descended virtues, that elevate and ennoble human nature, the highest, the sublimest, and the divinest is charity. By all means, then, fail not to exercise and cultivate this soul-regenerating element of fallen nature. Let it be cultivated and exercised not only amongst ourselves and toward ourselves, on all questions of motive or conduct touching the late war, but toward all mankind. Even toward our enemies, if we have any, let the aspirations of our hearts be: "Father, forgive them; they know not what they do." The exercise of patience, forbearance and charity, therefore, are

the three first duties I would at this time enjoin—and three, “the greatest is charity.”

But to proceed. Another one of our present duties. We should accept the issues of the war, and abide by good faith. This, I feel fully persuaded, it is your part to do, as well as that of your constituents. The people of Georgia have in convention revoked and annulled her ordinance of 1861, which was intended to sever her from the Confederation of 1787. The constitution of the United States has been reordained as the organic law of our land. The differences of opinion heretofore existed as to where the allegiance was due, during the late state of things, none of which for practical purpose can exist now. Whether Georgia's action of her convention of 1861, was ever rightfully binding on the Union or not, there can be no question that she is now bound so far as depends upon her will and deed. The whole of the United States, therefore, is now without question our country, and is cherished and defended as such, by all our hearts and by all our arms.

The constitution of the United States, and the laws made in pursuance thereof, are now acknowledged to be the paramount law in this whole country. Whoever is true to these principles as now recognized, is true to the Union so far as that term has any legitimate use or force under the existing institutions. This is the only kind of loyalty and the only kind of loyalty the constitution itself requires. In any action of everything pertaining to restoration, so far as regards the body of the people in at least eleven States of the Union, it is but making a promise to the ear to be broken to the face. All, therefore, who accept the issue of war in good faith, and come up to the test required by the constitution, are now true, however they may have heretofore been.

But with this change comes a new order of things. The results of the war is a total change in our whole social polity. Our former social fabric has been entirely shattered. Like those convulsions in nature which break up old systems, the war has wrought a new epoch in our political existence. Old things have passed away, and all things that are to come in this respect are new. The relation, heretofore, between the old system, existing between the African and European

no longer exists. Slavery, as it was called, or the status of the black race, their subordination to the white, upon which all our institutions rested, is abolished forever, not only in Georgia, but throughout the limits of the United States. This change should be received and accepted as an irrevocable fact. It is a bootless question now to discuss, whether the new system is better for both races than the old one was or not. That may be proper matter for the philosophic and philanthropic historian, at some future time to inquire into, after the new system shall have been fully and fairly tried.

All changes of systems or proposed reforms are but experiments and problems to be solved. Our system of self-government was an experiment at first. Perhaps as a problem it is not yet solved. Our present duty on this subject is not with the past or the future; it is with the present. The wisest and best often err, in their judgments, as to the probable workings of any new system. Let us therefore give this one a fair and just trial, without prejudice, and with that earnestness of purpose, which always looks hopefully to success. It is an ethnological problem, on the solution of which depends, not only the best interest of both races, but it may be the existence of one or the other, if not both.

This duty of giving this new system a fair and just trial will require of you as legislators of the land, great changes in our former laws in regard to this large class of population. Wise and humane provisions should be made for them. It is not for me to go into detail. Suffice it to say on this occasion, that ample and full protection should be secured to them, so that they may stand equal before the law, in the possession and enjoyment of all rights of person, liberty and property. Many considerations claim this at your hands. Among these may be stated their fidelity in time past. They cultivated your fields, ministered to your personal wants and comforts, nursed and reared your children; and even in the hour of danger and peril they were, in the main, true to you and yours. To them we owe a debt of gratitude, as well as acts of kindness. This should also be done because they are poor, untutored, uninformed; many of them helpless, liable to be imposed upon, and need it. Legislation should ever look to the protection of the weak against the strong. Whatever may be said of the equality of races, or their

natural capacity to become equal, no one can doubt that at this time this race among us is not equal to the Caucasian. This inequality does not lessen the moral obligations on the part of the superior to the inferior; it rather increases them. From him who has much, more is required than from him who has little. The present generation of them, it is true, is far above their savage progenitors, who were at first introduced into this country, in general intelligence, virtue, and moral culture. This shows capacity for improvement. But in all the higher characteristics of mental development, they are very far below the European type. What further advancement they may make, or to what standard they may attain, under a different system of laws every way suitable and wisely applicable to their changed condition, time alone can disclose. I see of them as we now know them to be; having no longer the protection of a master or legal guardian, they now need all the protection which the shield of the law can give.

But, above all, this protection should be secured, because it is right and just that it should be, upon general principles. Governments in their organic structure, as well as in their administration, should have this leading object in view; the protection of the governed. Protection and security to all under its jurisdiction should be the chief end of every government. It is a melancholy truth that while this should be the chief end of all governments, most of them are used only as instruments of power, for the aggrandizement of the few, at the expense and by the oppression of, the many. Such are not our ideas of government, never have been and never should be. Governments, according to our ideas, should look to the good of the whole, and not a part only. "The greatest good to the greatest number," is a favorite dogma with some. Some defended our old system. But you know this was never a doctrine. The greatest good to all, without detriment or injury to any, is the true rule. Those governments only are founded upon correct principles, of reason and justice, which look to the greatest attainable advancement, improvement and progress, physically, intellectually and morally, of all classes and conditions within their rightful jurisdiction. If our old system was the best, or could not have been made the best, for both races in this respect and upon this basis, it ought to have been maintained.

ished. This was my view of that system while it lasted, and I repeat it now while it is no more. In legislation, therefore, under the new system, you should look to the best interest of all classes; their protection, security, advancement and improvement, physically, intellectually, and morally. All obstacles, if there be any, should be removed, which can possibly hinder or retard the improvement of the blacks to the extent of their capacity. All proper aid should be given to their own efforts. Channels of education should be opened to them. Schools, and the usual means of moral and intellectual training, should be encouraged among them. This is the dictate, not only of what is right and proper, and just in itself, but it is also the promptings of the highest considerations of interest. It is difficult to conceive a greater evil or curse, than could befall our country, stricken and distressed as it now is, than for so large a portion of its population, as this class will quite probably constitute amongst us, hereafter, to be reared in ignorance, depravity and vice. In view of such a state of things we might the prudent even now look to its abandonment. Let us not however indulge in such thoughts of the future, nor let us, without an effort, say the system cannot be worked. Let us not, standing still, hesitatingly ask, "Can there any good thing come out of Nazareth?" but let us rather say as Gamaliel did, "If this counsel or this work be of men, it will come to naught, but if it be of God ye cannot overthrow it, lest haply ye be found even to fight against God." The most vexed questions of the age are social problems. These we have had heretofore little to do with; we were relieved from them by our peculiar institution. Emancipation of the blacks, with its consequences, was ever considered by me with much more interest as a social question, one relating to the proper status of the different elements of society, and their relations toward each other, looking to the best interest of all, than in any other light. The pecuniary aspect of it, the considerations of labor and capital in a politico-economic view, sink into insignificance in comparison with this. This problem as one of the results of the war, is now upon us, presenting one of the most perplexing questions of the sort that any people ever had to deal with. Let us resolve to do the best we can with it, from all the lights we have, or can get from any quarter. With this view, and in

this connection, I take the liberty of quoting for illustration, some remarks even from the Rev. Henry D. Thoreau. I met with them some months ago while pursuing this subject, and was as much struck as surprised by the soundness of their philosophy, coming from the source to which I find them in the New York "Times." They were reported. You may be as much surprised to find such ideas from Mr. Beecher, as I was. But, he may differ from him on many questions, and on many questions connected with this subject, yet all must rank amongst the master spirits of the age. A. A. Phelps has contributed more by the power of his pen than in bringing about the present state of things there; nevertheless, I commend to your serious consideration, as pertinent to my present object, what he was reported to have said, as follows:

"In our land and time facts and questions arise which demand Christian settlement—settling the ground and doctrine. We cannot escape the fact that we are strong and powerful, we must nurse, and cultivate, and foster the weak, and poor, and ignorant. On my own part I cannot see how we shall escape the fact that there will be a conflict of classes, by and by, unless we are educated in the doctrine of duty, on the part of the superior classes. We are told by zealous and fanatical individuals that all men are equal. We know better. They are not equal. The doctrine of brotherhood teaches no such absurdity. A theoretical equality of physical likeness, is no more absurd than this. In the times, the strong go to the top, the weak go to the bottom. It is natural, right and can't be helped. All men are not at the top of the tree, but the top does not despise the limb nor do they all despise the limb or the parent. In the body politic, there must be classes. Some must be at the top and some must be at the bottom. It is impossible to see and estimate the development of the power of the people of America. They are simply inevitable. They will be more. If they are friendly, living and respecting and helping one another, all will be well; if they are selfish, unchristian; if the old heathen reign, each extracting all he can from his neighbor."

nothing for him; society will be lined by classes as by seams—like batteries, each firing broadside after broadside, the one upon the other. If on the other hand, the law of love prevails, there will be no ill-will, no envy, no disturbance. Does a child hate his father because he is chief, because he is strong and wise? On the contrary he grows with his father's growth, and strengthens with his strength. And if in society there should be fifty grades or classes, all helping each other, there will be no trouble, but perfect satisfaction and content. This Christian doctrine carried into practice will easily settle the most troublesome of all home present questions."

What he here said of the state of things where he spoke in the State of New York, and the fearful antagonism of classes there, is much more applicable to us. Here, it is true, only two great classes exist, or are likely to exist, but these are deeply marked by distinctions bearing the impress of nature. The one is now beyond all question greatly superior to the other. These classes are as distinct as races of men can be. The one is of the highest type of humanity, the other of the lowest. All that he says of the duty of the superior, to protect, to aid, to encourage, and to help the inferior, I fully and cordially endorse and commend to you as quite as applicable to us and our situation, as it was to his auditors. Whether the doctrine, if carried out and practised, will settle all these most troublesome questions with those whom he was addressing, I will not undertake to say. I have no hesitancy, however, in saying that the general principles announced by him are good. Let them be adopted by us as far as practicable. No harm can come from it, much good may. Whether the great barrier of races which the Creator has placed between this, our inferior class and ourselves, shall prevent a success of the experiment now on trial, of a peaceful, happy, and prosperous community, composed of such elements and sustaining present relations toward each other, or even a further elevation on the part of the inferior, if they prove themselves fit for it, let the future, under the dispensations of providence, decide. We have to deal with the present. Let us do our duty now, leaving results and ultimate consequences to that

"Divinity which shapes our ends,
Rough hew them how we will."

In all things on this subject, as in all others, let us follow the admirable motto of our State. Let our conduct be governed by wisdom, our measures by moderation, and our principles by justice.

So much for what I have to say on this occasion. As to our present duties on this absorbing subject, and our duties in reference to a restoration of peace, and to the without which all must, sooner or later, end in anarchy and despotism. I have, as I said I should, to offer at some general ideas.

Now as to the future, and the prospect before us, on this branch of the subject I can add but little. You have a fair idea of my views of that from what has already been said. Would that I could say something cheerful; but the gloom which has marked all that I have said, compels me to say to me the future is far from being bright. Nay, it is almost impenetrable; thick gloom curtains and closes the prospect all around us. Thus much I can say; my only hope is the peaceful re-establishment of good government, and the successful maintenance afterward. And, further, the prospect to this end is the restoration of the old Union, with it the speedy return of fraternal feeling, and its length and breadth. These results depend upon the efforts of themselves—upon the people of the North quite as much as the people of the South—upon their virtue, intelligence, and patriotism. I repeat, I have faith in the American people, in their virtue, intelligence and patriotism. But for this I have since have despaired. Dark and gloomy as the prospect is, I do not yet despair of free institutions. Let the virtue, intelligence, and patriotism of the people throughout the country be properly appealed to, aroused and directed to action, and all may yet be well. The masses are all alike equally interested in the great object. Let the old questions, old differences, old feuds, be regarded as belonging to another epoch. They belong to what may be considered the Silurian period of our history. Great new questions are before us. Let it not be said of our country not yet passed, of our country's greatest trial and temptation, "there was a party for Cæsar, a party for Pompey, and a party for Brutus, but no party for Rome."

But let all patriots, by whatever distinctive name heretofore styled, rally, in all elections everywhere, to the support of him, be he who he may, who bears the standard with "Constitutional Union" emblazoned on its folds. President Johnson is now, in my judgment, the chief great standard-bearer of these principles, and in his efforts at restoration should receive the cordial support of every well-wisher of his country.

In this consists, on this rests, my only hope. Should he be sustained, and the government be restored to its former functions, all the States brought back to their practical relations under the constitution, our situation will be greatly changed from what it was before. A radical and fundamental change, as has been stated, has been made in that organic law. We shall have lost what was known as our "peculiar institution" which was so intertwined with the whole framework of our State body politic. We shall have lost nearly half the accumulated capital of a century. But we shall have still left all the essentials of free government, contained and embodied in the old institutions, untouched and unimpaired as they came from the hands of our fathers. With these, even if we had to begin entirely anew, the prospect before us would be much more encouraging than the prospect was before them, when they fled from the oppressions of the old world, and sought shelter and homes in this then wilderness land. The liberties we begin with, they had to achieve. With the same energies and virtues they displayed, we have much more to cheer us than they had. With a climate unrivalled in salubrity; with a soil unsurpassed in fertility; and with products unequalled in value in the markets of the world, to say nothing of our mineral resources, we shall have much still to wed us to the good old land. With good government, the matrix from which alone spring all great human achievements, we shall lack nothing but our own proper exertions, not only to recover our former prosperity, but to attain a much higher degree of development in everything that characterizes a great, free and happy people. At least I know of no other land that the sun shines upon that offers better prospects under the contingencies stated.

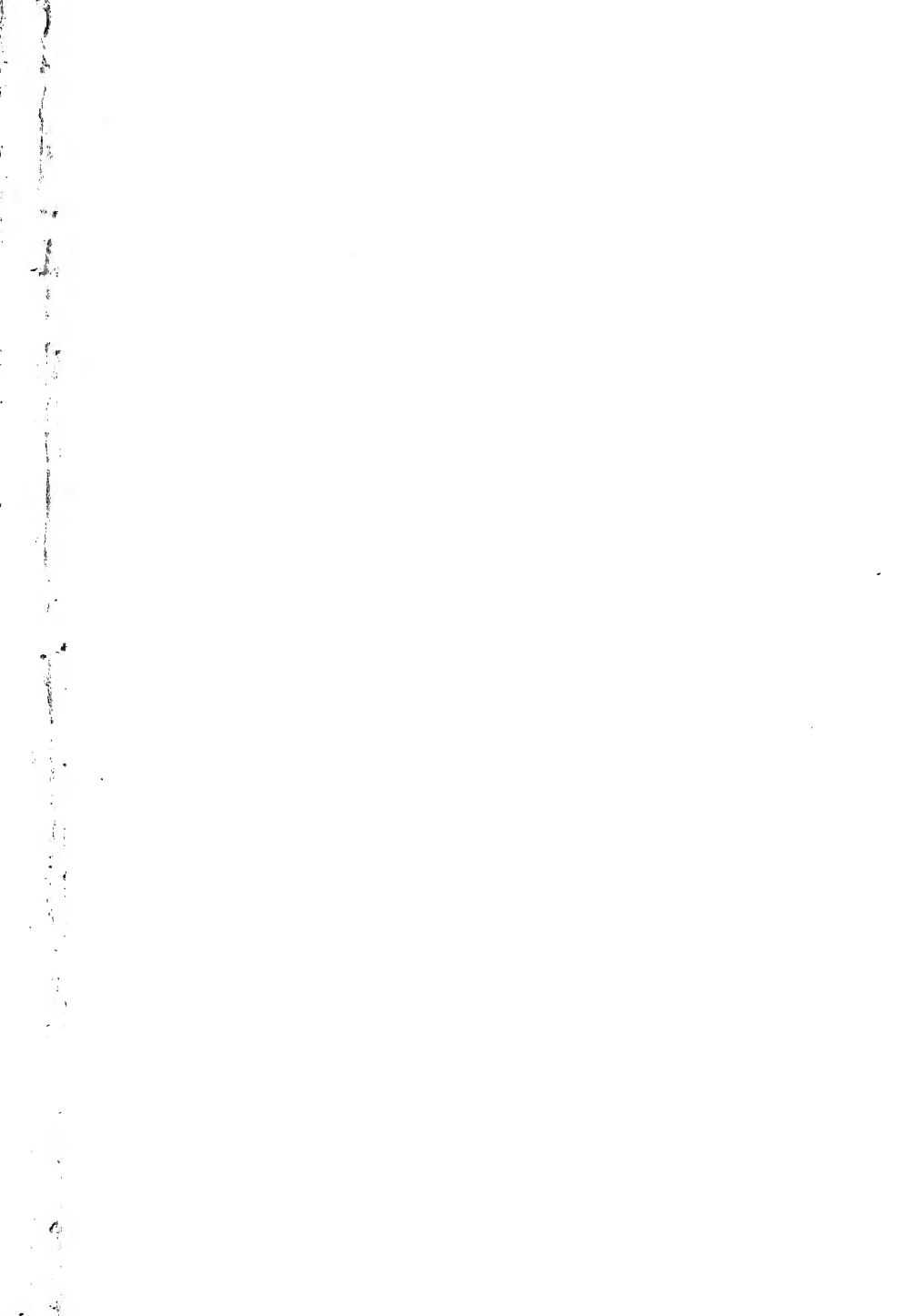
The old Union was based upon the assumption that it was for the best interest of the people of all the States to be united as they were, each State faithfully performing to the people of

the other States all their obligations under the common compact. I always thought this assumption was founded upon broad, correct, and statesman-like principles. I think so yet. It was only when it seemed to be impossible to further maintain it, without hazarding greater evils than would perhaps attend a separation, that I yielded my assent in obedience to the voice of Georgia, to try the experiment which has just resulted so disastrously to us. Indeed, during the whole lamentable conflict, it was my opinion that however the impending strife may terminate, so far as the appeal to the sword was concerned, yet after a while, when the passions and excitements of the day should pass away, an adjustment or arrangement would be made upon continental principles, upon the general basis of "reciprocal advantage and mutual convenience," on which the Union was first established. My earnest desire, however, throughout, was whatever might be done, might be peaceably done; might be the result of calm, dispassionate and enlightened reason; looking to the permanent interests and welfare of all. And now, after the severe chastisement of war, if the general sense of the whole country shall come back to the acknowledgment of the original assumption, that it is for the best interests of all the States to be so united, as I trust it will, the States still being "separate as the billows, but one as the sea"; I can perceive no reason why, under such restoration, we as a whole, with "peace, commerce and honest friendship with all nations and entangling alliances with none," may not enter upon a new career, exciting increased wonder in the old world, by grander achievements hereafter to be made, than any heretofore attained, by the peaceful and harmonious workings of our American institutions of self-government. All this is possible if the hearts of the people be right. It is my earnest wish to see it. Fondly would I indulge my fancy in gazing on such a picture of the future. With what rapture may we not suppose the spirits of our fathers would hail its opening scenes from their mansions above. Such are my hopes, resting on such contingencies. But if, instead of all this, the passions of the day shall continue to bear sway; if prejudice shall rule the hour; if a conflict of races shall arise; if ambition shall turn the scale; if the sword shall be thrown in the balance against patriotism; if the embers of the late war shall be kept a-glow-

ing until with new fuel they shall flame up again, then our present gloom is but the shadow, the penumbra of that deeper and darker eclipse, which is to totally obscure this hemisphere and blight forever the anxious anticipations and expectations of mankind ! Then, hereafter, by some bard it may be sung,

“ The star of hope shone brightest in the west,
The hope of liberty, the last, the best ;
That, too, has set upon her darkened shore,
And hope and freedom light up earth no more.”

May we not all, on this occasion, on this anniversary of the birthday of Washington, join in a fervent prayer to heaven that the Great Ruler of events may avert from this land such a fall, such a fate, and such a requiem !



REPLY TO LINCOLN

—

BY

STEPHEN ARNOLD DOUGLAS

STEPHEN ARNOLD DOUGLAS

1813—1861

Stephen A. Douglas was a New Englander, born at Brandon, Vt., April 23, 1813, and received such education there as an academy could give him. His profession was the law; and he studied it in several States, roaming from one to another in an unsettled manner, as if seeking in vain the ideal spot for his proposed career. He was always restless, physically and mentally; and in spite of the vigor and trenchancy of his utterances, it was for a long while in doubt whether at heart his sympathies, in the discussions which preceded the Civil War, were for the South or for the North. He did, indeed, uniformly deprecate secession, affirming that the constitution gave the general government absolute powers for its own preservation; nevertheless it was a surprise to many when, at the final outbreak of hostilities, he took the Northern side.

He was a member of the Illinois legislature at the age of twenty-three, and from that time was constantly in politics. He first sat as member of Congress in 1843, and in the Senate in 1847, and retained his seat until his death, June 3, 1861. In 1860 he was the nominee of the Democratic party for President. He advocated the doctrine of "squatter" sovereignty in the Territories in relation to the slavery question. He was always a tireless and energetic speaker, and in his addresses showed many of the arts of the demagogue, as well as more worthy qualities. His sense of humor, often coarse, but generally effective, made him a favorite with the crowds in open air meetings and the like informal gatherings; and he excelled in debate, as his contest with Lincoln sufficiently proves.

There is great ability in many of his speeches; but it is not ability of the kind that inspires confidence in the speaker. The speeches in the Lincoln-Douglas campaign are characteristic of Douglas, and show his merits and defects. He had no character outside of his speeches to fall back on or refer to; and therefore, he was fain to indulge in dodgings, quick turns, jokes, abuse of the plaintiff's attorney, and the like tricks, which amuse but do not convince. His audiences, going home after the speech to think it over, arrived at the conclusion that Douglas was a good fellow, but not a man to pin one's political faith to. The speech here given was delivered in a joint debate with Lincoln at Freeport, Ill., in the campaign of 1858.

REPLY TO LINCOLN

Delivered in joint debate, at Freeport, Illinois, June 17, 1858

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: I am glad that at last I have brought Mr. Lincoln to the conclusion that he had better define his position on certain political questions to which I called his attention at Ottawa. He there showed no disposition, no inclination, to answer them. I did not present idle questions for him to answer merely for my gratification. I laid the foundation for those interrogatories by showing that they constituted the platform of the party whose nominee he is for the Senate. I did not presume that I had the right to catechise him as I saw proper, unless I showed that his party, or a majority of it, stood upon the platform and were in favor of the propositions upon which my questions were based. I desired simply to know, inasmuch as he had been nominated as the first, last, and only choice of his party, whether he concurred in the platform which that party had adopted for its government. In a few moments I will proceed to review the answers which he has given to these interrogatories; but in order to relieve his anxiety, I will first respond to these which he has presented to me. Mark you, he has not presented interrogatories which have ever received the sanction of the party with which I am acting, and hence he has no other foundation for them than his own curiosity.

First, he desires to know if the people of Kansas shall form a constitution by means entirely proper and unobjectionable, and ask admission into the Union as a State, before they have the requisite population for a member of Congress, whether I will vote for that admission. Well, now, I regret exceedingly that he did not answer that interrogatory himself before he put it to me, in order that we might understand, and not be left to infer on which side he is. Mr. Trumbull, during the last session

of Congress, voted from the beginning to the end against the admission of Oregon, although a free State, because she has not the requisite population for a member of Congress. Mr. Trumbull would not consent, under any circumstances, to a State, free or slave, come into the Union until it had the requisite population. As Mr. Trumbull is in the field fighting for Mr. Lincoln, I would like to have Mr. Lincoln answer his own question, and tell me whether he is fighting Trumbull on that issue or not. But I will answer his question. In reference to Kansas, it is my opinion that as she has population enough to constitute a slave State, she has people enough for a free State. I will not make Kansas an exceptional case to the other States of the Union. I hold it to be a sound rule of universal application to require a territory to contain the requisite population for a member of Congress before it is admitted as a State into the Union. I made that proposition in the Senate in 1854, and I renewed it during the last session in a bill providing that no territory of the United States should form a constitution and apply for admission, until it had the requisite population. On another occasion, I proposed, that neither Kansas nor any other territory should be admitted until it had the requisite population. Congress did not adopt any of my propositions containing this general rule, but did make an exception of Kansas. I will stand by that exception. Either Kansas must come in as a free State, with whatever population she may have, and the rule must be applied to all the other territories alike. I therefore answer at once, that it having been decided that Kansas has people enough for a slave State, I hold that she has people enough for a free State. I hope Mr. Lincoln is satisfied with my answer; and now I would like to get his answer to my own interrogatory—whether or not he will vote to admit Kansas before she has the requisite population. I want to know whether he will vote to admit Oregon before that territory has the requisite population. Mr. Trumbull will not, and the same reason that commits Mr. Trumbull against the admission of Oregon commits him against Kansas, even if she should apply for admission as a free State. If there is any sincerity, and truth, in the argument of Mr. Trumbull in the Senate against the admission of Oregon, because she has not 93,420 people, although her population was larger than that of Kansas,

stands pledged against the admission of both Oregon and Kansas, until they have 93,420 inhabitants. I would like Mr. Lincoln to answer this question. I would like him to take his own medicine. If he differs with Mr. Trumbull, let him answer his argument against the admission of Oregon, instead of poking questions at me.

The next question propounded to me by Mr. Lincoln is: Can the people of the territory in any lawful way, against the wishes of any citizen of the United States, exclude slavery from their limits prior to the formation of a State constitution? I answer emphatically, as Mr. Lincoln has heard me answer a hundred times from every stump in Illinois, that in my opinion the people of a territory can, by lawful means, exclude slavery from their limits prior to the formation of a State constitution. Mr. Lincoln knew that I had answered that question over and over again. He heard me argue the Nebraska Bill on that principle all over the State in 1854, in 1855, and in 1856, and he has no excuse for pretending to be in doubt as to my position on that question. It matters not what way the Supreme Court may hereafter decide as to the abstract question whether slavery may or may not go into a territory under the constitution; the people have the lawful means to introduce it or exclude it as they please, for the reason that slavery cannot exist a day or an hour anywhere, unless it is supported by local police regulations. Those police regulations can only be established by the local legislature; and if the people are opposed to slavery, they will elect representatives to that body who will, by unfriendly legislation, effectually prevent the introduction of it into their midst. If, on the contrary, they are for it, their legislation will favor its extension. Hence, no matter what the decision of the Supreme Court may be on that abstract question, still the right of the people to make a slave territory or a free territory is perfect and complete under the Nebraska Bill. I hope Mr. Lincoln deems my answer satisfactory on that point.

In this connection, I will notice the charge which he has introduced in relation to Mr. Chase's amendment. I thought that I had chased that amendment out of Mr. Lincoln's brain at Ottawa, but it seems that still haunts his imagination, and he is not yet satisfied. I had supposed that he would be ashamed to press that question further. He is a lawyer, and has been a

member of Congress, and has occupied his time and a you by telling you about parliamentary proceeding. He to have known better than to try to palm off his miserable positions upon this intelligent audience. The Nebraska Bill provided that the legislative power and authority of the territory should extend to all rightful subjects of legislation consistent with the organic act and the constitution of the United States. It did not make any exception as to slavery, but gave all the power that it was possible for Congress to give without violating the constitution to the territorial legislature with no exception or limitation on the subject of slavery. The language of that bill which I have quoted gave the power and the full authority over the subject of slavery, positively and negatively, to introduce it or exclude it, so far as the constitution of the United States would permit. What could Mr. Chase give by his amendment? Nothing. He offered his amendment for the identical purpose for which Lincoln is using it, to enable demagogues in the country to mislead and deceive the people.

His amendment was to this effect. It provided that the legislature should have the power to exclude slavery; and Mr. Cass suggested: "Why not give the power to introduce as well as exclude?" The answer was: "They have the power already in the bill to do both." Chase was afraid that his amendment would be adopted if he put the alternative proposition, and so make it fair both ways, but would not yield. He offered it for the purpose of having it rejected. He offered it as he has himself avowed over and over again, simply to throw the capital out of it for the stump. He expected that it would be the capital for small politicians in the country, and that they would make an effort to deceive the people with it; and he was mistaken, for Lincoln is carrying out the plan admirably. Lincoln knows that the Nebraska Bill, without Chase's amendment, gave all the power which the constitution would permit. Could Congress confer any more? Could Congress go beyond the constitution of the country? We gave all a full grant with no exception in regard to slavery one way or the other. We left that question, as we left all others, to be decided by the people for themselves, just as they pleased. I will not occupy time on this question. I have argued it before all over

I have argued it in this beautiful city of Freeport ; I have argued it in the North, the South, the East, and the West, avowing the same sentiments and the same principles. I have not been afraid to avow my sentiments up here for fear I would be trotted down into Egypt.

The third question which Mr. Lincoln presented is : " If the Supreme Court of the United States shall decide that a State of this Union cannot exclude slavery from its own limits, will I submit to it ? " I am amazed that Lincoln should ask such a question. " A schoolboy knows better. " Yes, a schoolboy does know better. Mr. Lincoln's object is to cast an imputation upon the Supreme Court. He knows that there never was but one man in America, claiming any degree of intelligence or decency, who ever for a moment pretended such a thing. It is true that the Washington " Union, " in an article published on the seventeenth of last December, did put forth that doctrine, and I denounced the article on the floor of the Senate in a speech which Mr. Lincoln now pretends was against the President. The Union had claimed that slavery had a right to go into the free States, and that any provisions in the constitution or laws of the free States to the contrary was null and void. I denounced it in the Senate, as I said before, and I was the first man who did. Lincoln's friends, Trumbull and Seward and Hale and Wilson, and the whole black Republican side of the Senate, were silent. They left it to me to denounce it. And what was the reply made to me on that occasion ? Mr. Toombs, of Georgia, got up and undertook to lecture me on the ground that I ought not to have deemed the article worthy of notice and ought not to have replied to it ; that there was not one man, woman, or child south of the Potomac, in any slave State, who did not repudiate any such pretension. Mr. Lincoln knows that that reply was made on the spot, and yet now he asks this question. He might as well ask me : " Suppose Mr. Lincoln should steal a horse, would you sanction it ? " and it would be as genteel in me to ask him, in the event he stole a horse, what ought to be done with him. He casts an imputation upon the Supreme Court of the United States by supposing that they would violate the constitution of the United States. I tell him that such a thing is not possible. It would be an act

to. Mr. Lincoln himself would never in his partisanship so far forget what was right as to be guilty of such an

The fourth question of Mr. Lincoln is: "Are you in favor of acquiring additional territory, in disregard as to whether the acquisition may affect the Union on the slavery question?" This question is very ingeniously and cunningly put.

The Black Republican creed lays it down explicitly that under no circumstances shall we acquire any more territory unless slavery is first prohibited in the country. I asked Mr. Lincoln whether he is in favor of that proposition. Answering Mr. Lincoln] opposed to the acquisition of additional territory, under any circumstances, unless slavery is first prohibited in it? That he does not like to answer. When asked whether he stands up to that article in the platform of the Republican party, he turns, Yankee fashion, and, without answering the question, asks whether I am in favor of acquiring territory without regard to how it may affect the Union on the slavery question. I answer that whenever it becomes necessary, in our growth and progress, to acquire more territory, that I am in favor of doing so, without reference to the question of slavery; and when we have acquired it, I will leave the people free to do as they please, either to make it slave or free territory, as they prefer. It is idle to tell you that we have territory enough. Our fathers said that we had enough when our territory extended to the Mississippi River, but a few years' growth and expansion satisfied them that we needed more, and the Louisiana Territory was added to the west branch of the Mississippi to the British possessions. Then we acquired Oregon, then California, then Mexico. We have enough now for the present, but we are a young and a growing nation. It swarms as often as the bees; and as new swarms are turned out each year, we need more hives in which they can gather and make their honey. In less than fifteen years, if the same progress that we have witnessed this country for the last fifteen years continues, a foot of vacant land between this and the Pacific Ocean will be occupied by the United States will be occupied. Will you not say that to increase at the end of fifteen years as well as now? I answer that increase and multiply and expand is the law of this nation's existence. You cannot limit this great republic by any

dary lines, saying: "thus far shalt thou go, and no further." Any one of you gentlemen might as well say to a son twelve years old that he is big enough, and must not grow any larger, and in order to prevent his growth, put a hoop around him to keep him to his present size. What would be the result? Either the hoop must burst and be rent asunder, or the child must die. So it would be with this great nation. With our natural increase, growing with a rapidity unknown in any other part of the globe, with the tide of emigration that is fleeing from despotism in the Old World to seek refuge in our own, there is a constant torrent pouring into this country that requires more land, more territory upon which to settle; and just as fast as our interests and our destiny require additional territory in the North, in the South, or on the islands of the ocean, I am for it, and when we acquire it, will leave the people, according to the Nebraska Bill, free to do as they please on the subject of slavery and every other question.

I trust now that Mr. Lincoln will deem himself answered on his four points. He racked his brain so much in devising these four questions that he exhausted himself, and had not strength enough to invent the others. As soon as he is able to hold a council with his advisers, Lovejoy, Farnsworth, and Fred Douglas, he will frame and propound others. ["Good, good!"] You Black Republicans who say good, I have no doubt think that they are all good men. I have no reason to recollect that some people in this country think that Fred Douglas is a very good man. The last time I came here to make a speech, while talking from the stand to you, people of Freeport, as I am doing to-day, I saw a carriage, and a magnificent one it was, drive up and take a position on the outside of the crowd; a beautiful young lady was sitting on the box-seat, whilst Fred Douglas and her mother reclined inside, and the owner of the carriage acted as driver. I saw this in your own town. ["What of it?"] All I have to say of it is this, that if you, Black Republicans, think that the negro ought to be on a social equality with your wives and daughters, and ride in a carriage with your wife, whilst you drive the team, you have a perfect right to do so. I am told that one of Fred Douglas's kinsmen, another rich black negro, is now travelling in this part of the State, making

speeches for his friend Lincoln as the champion
[“What have you to say against it?”] All
that subject is, that those of you who believe
your equal and ought to be on an equality w
politically, and legally, have a right to entertain
and, of course, will vote for Mr. Lincoln.

RAISING THE FLAG OVER FORT
SUMTER

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BY

HENRY WARD BEECHER

HENRY WARD BEECHER

1813—1887

In the seventy-four years that measured the span of Beecher's life he witnessed the mightiest drama that played upon the stage of American history. When he died in 1887, slavery had not become a political issue, even in the most visionary; the sun rose and set on millions of Americans. Two contrasting civilizations existed side by side—the old aristocracy of the South, and the intensely democratic communities of the North. The whole Union had so apparently contented with those conditions. When he died, in years and honors, the question of human bondage could have been forever silenced by the tears and blood of fratricidal war. But the Phoenix of a New South was rising out of the ashes of defeat, new in strength and purpose, new in hopes and ideals. The contemporaries of Beecher, lived to see the happening of the most eventful years, few played, from first to last, a part so conspicuous. He was an uncompromising hater of slavery, interested in politics, in religion, in literature, in art. At the same time a clergyman, a lecturer, an author, and was a

Beecher was born at Litchfield, Connecticut, where he became a Protestant clergyman, in 1813. He received his education at Andover College and Lane Theological Seminary, where he received an appointment as professor of theology. His first church was at Lawrenceburg, Indiana, where his congregation numbered twenty. His next call was to Indianapolis, where the fervor he put in his work made him a favorite. As he became identified with the Abolition movement, which was beginning to show its strength. After eight years of efficient ministry in Indianapolis, Beecher received a call from the organized Plymouth Church, in Brooklyn, and entered it on October, 1847. It would not be feasible, in this short sketch of the outline of the work he accomplished during his forty years of that pulpit. Suffice it to say, that he made his church the most influential in the country, and made for himself a preacher second to none.

During the war he went to England, and addressed the people of Liverpool and Manchester on the subject of slavery, and the relations between the North and the South. His resolute, strong, manly face and eloquent tongue often converted converts in the course of a single evening, to a belief in the principles of the North was struggling. At the close of the war he made his famous address over the ruins of Fort Sumter. As the future of the Union unfolded itself, he read in its fluttering folds the fate of the American people that slavery should exist no more. He continued to preach at Plymouth Church for twenty-two years. He died, in 1887, as he had lived, "in harness." The epitaph "Here lies the man who labored," be more fitting.

RAISING THE FLAG OVER FORT SUMTER

Delivered April 14, 1865, by request of President Lincoln

ON this solemn and joyful day we again lift to the breeze our fathers' flag, now again the banner of the United States, with the fervent prayer that God will crown it with honor, protect it from treason, and send it down to our children, with all the blessings of civilization, liberty and religion. Terrible in battle, may it be beneficent in peace. Happily no bird or beast of prey has been inscribed upon it. The stars that redeem the night from darkness, and the beams of red light that beautify the morning, have been united upon its folds. As long as the sun endures, or the stars, may it wave over a nation neither enslaved nor enslaving! Once, and but once, has treason dishonored it. In that insane hour when the guiltiest and bloodiest rebellion of all time hurled their fires upon this fort, you, sir [turning to General Anderson], and a small, heroic band, stood within these now crumbled walls, and did gallant and just battle for the honor and defence of the nation's banner. In that cope of fire, that glorious flag still peacefully waved to the breeze above your head, unconscious of harm as the stars and skies above it. Once it was shot down. A gallant hand, in whose care this day it has been, plucked it from the ground, and reared it again—"cast down but not destroyed." After a vain resistance, with trembling hand and sad heart, you withdrew it from its height, closed its wings, and bore it far away, sternly to sleep amid the tumults of rebellion, and the thunder of battle. The first act of war had begun. The long night of four years had set in. While the giddy traitors whirled in a maze of exhilaration, dim horrors were already advancing, that were ere long to fill the land with blood. To-day you are returned again. We devoutly join with you in thanksgiving to Almighty God that he has spared your honored life, and such of his people

glory of this day. The heavens over you are the shores are here, morning comes, and evening, as else, how changed! What grim batteries crown the shores! What scenes have filled this air, and the waters! These shattered heaps of shapeless stones are left of Fort Sumter. Desolation broods in yonder air. Retribution hath avenged our dishonored banner. Those who came back with honor, who departed hence for glory, leaving the air sultry with fanaticism. The surge of passion rolled up their frenzied shouts as the flag came down, or scattered, or silent, and their habitations are now ruins. It sits in the cradle of treason. Rebellion has perished. It flies the same flag that was insulted. With stars and stripes over this bay for the banner that supplanted it, You that then, for the day, were humbled, are here again to triumph once and forever. In the storm of that assault, our ensign was often struck; but, memorable fact, the stars were torn out by shot or shell. It was a prophecy fulfilled. "Not a State shall be struck from this nation by the sword." Fulfilment is at hand. Lifted to the air to-day, it is to be after four years of war, "Not a State is blotted from the map." The flag of our fathers, and our flag! Glory to the Union. It has gone through four years black with tempests, and it has brought the nation back to peace without dismemberment. We owe it to God, who, above all hosts and banners, hateth blood, and shall ordain peace. Wherefore have we called our pilgrims from distant places? Are we come to see if Northern hands are stronger than Southern? We rejoice that the hands of those who defend a just government are mightier than the hands that assault it. We exult that we exult over fallen cities? We exult that a city has fallen. We sorrow with the sorrowful. We sympathize with the desolate. We look upon this shattered fort as a dilapidated city with sad eyes, grieved that men should have committed such treason, and glad the God hath punished upon treason that all ages shall dread and abhor. We fight not for a passion gratified, but for a sentiment; not for temper, but for conscience; not, as we devote our will is done, but that God's will hath been done. We are unworthy of that liberty intrusted to our care.

day as this, we sullied our hearts by feelings of aimless vengeance, and equally unworthy if we did not devoutly thank him who hath said: "Vengeance is mine, I will repay, saith the Lord," that he hath set a mark upon arrogant rebellion, ineffaceable while time lasts.

Since this flag went down on that dark day, who shall tell the mighty woes that have made this land a spectacle to angels and men? The soil has drunk blood and is glutted. Millions mourn for myriads slain, or, envying the dead, pray for oblivion. Towns and villages have been razed. Fruitful fields have been turned back to wilderness. It came to pass, as the prophet said: "The sun was turned to darkness and the moon to blood." The course of law was ended. The sword sat chief magistrate in half the nation; industry was paralyzed; morals corrupted; the public weal was invaded by rapine and anarchy; whole States ravaged by avenging armies. The world was amazed. The earth reeled. When the flag sunk here, it was as if political night had come, and all beasts of prey had come forth to devour. That long night is ended. And for this returning day we have come from afar to rejoice and give thanks. No more war. No more accursed secession. No more slavery, that spawned them both. Let no man misread the meaning of this unfolding flag! It says: "Government has returned hither." It proclaims, in the name of vindicated government, peace and protection to loyalty, humiliation and pains to traitors. This is the flag of sovereignty. The nation, not the States, is sovereign. Restored to authority, this flag commands, not supplicates. There may be pardon, but no concession. There may be amnesty and oblivion, but no honeyed compromise. The nation to-day has peace for the peaceful, and war for the turbulent. The only condition to submission is to submit! There is the constitution, there are the laws, there is the government. They rise up like mountains of strength that shall not be moved. They are the conditions of peace. One nation, under one government, without slavery, has been ordained, and shall stand. There can be peace on no other basis. On this basis reconstruction is easy, and needs neither architect nor engineer. Without this basis no engineer nor architect shall ever reconstruct these rebellious States. We do not want your cities or your fields. We do not envy you your prolific soil, nor heavens full of perpetual sum-

mer. Let agriculture revel here; let manufactures stream twice musical; build fleets in every port of peace with genius second only to that of Athens. Be glad in your gladness, and rich in your wealth. Ask is unswerving loyalty and universal liberty the name of this high sovereignty of the United States, we demand; and that, with the blessing of God, we will have! We raise our father's banner to back better blessings than those of old; that it may drive the devil of discord; that it may restore lawful government; that it may win parted friends to reunion; that it may inspire hope and inaugurate peace; that it may say to the sword, "Return to thy sheath," to the plough and sickle, "Go forth"; that it may unite all policies, inspire a new national strength, purify our principles, ennoble our nation, and make this people great and strong, not for quarrelsomeness, but for the peace of the world; that glorious prerogative of leading all nations to justice, humane policies, to sincerer friendship, to rational civil liberty, and to universal Christian brotherhood. Then, devoutly, piously, in hopeful patriotism, we spread the sky, as of old the bow was painted on the clouds, with solemn fervor, beseech God to look upon it, and to ratify of an everlasting covenant and decree that over this fair land shall a deluge of blood prevail. Will you turn from this spectacle? Are there not as yet many overleaping the recent past, carry us back to the North and South, this flag was honored alike by both; in colonial days we were one; in the long revolution we were one; and in the scores of prosperous years since we have been united. When the passage of the Stamp Act met the opposition of the colonies, it was Gadsden, of South Carolina, who, with prescient enthusiasm, "We stand on the broad basis of those natural rights that we all feel and know," said he, "ought to be no New England man, no New York man, no man of this continent, but all of us," said he, "America is the voice of South Carolina. That shall be the voice of Carolina. Faint is the echo; but it is coming."

it sighing sadly through the pines; but it shall yet break in thunder upon the shore. No North, no West, no South, but the United States of America. There is scarcely a man born in the South who has lifted his hand against this banner but had a father who would have died for it. Is memory dead? Is there no historic pride? Has a fatal fury struck blindness or hate into eyes that used to look kindly towards each other, that read the same Bible, that hung over the historic pages of our national glory, that studied the same constitution? Let this uplifting bring back all of the past that was good, but leave in darkness all that was bad. It was never before so wholly unspotted; so clear of all wrong; so purely and simply the sign of justice and liberty. Did I say that we brought back the same banner that you bore away, noble and heroic sir? It is not the same. It is more and better than it was. The land is free from slavery since that banner fell.

When God would prepare Moses for emancipation, he overthrew his first steps and drove him for forty years to brood in the wilderness. When our flag came down, four years it lay brooding in darkness. It cried to the Lord, "Wherefore am I deposed?" Then arose before it a vision of its sin. It had strengthened the strong, and forgotten the weak. It proclaimed liberty, but trod upon slaves. In that seclusion it dedicated itself to liberty. Behold, to-day, it fulfils its vows! When it went down four million people had no flag. To-day it rises, and four million people cry out, "Behold our flag." Hark! They murmur. It is the Gospel that they recite in sacred words: "It is a Gospel to the poor, it heals our broken hearts, it preaches deliverance to captives, it gives sight to the blind, it sets at liberty them that are bruised. Rise up, then, glorious Gospel banner, and roll out these messages of God. Tell the air that not a spot now sullies thy whiteness. Thy red is not the blush of shame, but the flush of joy. Tell the dews that wash thee that thou art as pure as they. Say to the night that thy stars lead towards the morning; and to the morning, that a brighter day arises with healing in its wings. And then, O glowing flag, bid the sun pour light on all thy folds with double brightness while thou art bearing round and round the world the solemn joy—a race set free! a nation redeemed! The mighty hand of government, made strong in war by the favor of the God of Bat-

ties, spreads wide to-day the banner of liberty that went down in darkness, that arose to light; and there it streams, like the sun above it, neither parcelled out nor monopolized, but flooding the air with light for all mankind. Ye scattered and broken, wounded and dying, bitten by the fiery serpents of oppression everywhere, in all the world, look upon this sign, lifted up, and live! And ye homeless and houseless slaves, look, and ye are free! At length you, too, have part and lot in this glorious sign that broods with impartial love over small and great, poor and the strong, the bond and the free. In this solemn hour, let us pray for the quick coming of reconciliation and happiness under this common flag. But we must build again, from the foundations, in all these now free Southern States. No cheering exhortations "to forgetfulness of the past, to restore all things as they were," will do. God does not stretch out his hand, as he has for four dreadful years, that men may easily forget the magnitude of his terrible acts. Restore things as they were! What, alienations and jealousies, the discords and contentions, and causes of them. No. In that solemn sacrifice on which a nation has offered for its sins so many precious victims, loved and lamented, let our sins and mistakes be consumed utterly and forever. No, never again shall things be restored as before the war. It is written in God's decree of events fulfilled, "Old things are passed away." That new earth, in which dwelleth righteousness, draws near. Things as they were! Who has an omnipotent hand to restore a million dead, slain in battle or wasted by sickness, or dying of grief, broken-hearted? Who has omniscience to search for the scattered ones? Who shall restore the lost to broken families? Who shall bring back the squandered treasure, the years of industry wasted, and convince you that four years of guilty rebellion and cruel war are no more than dirt upon the hand, which a moment's washing removes and leaves the hand clean as before? Such a war reaches down to the very vitals of society. Emerging from such a prolonged rebellion, he is blind who tells you that the State, by a mere honesty and benevolence of government, can be put again, by mere decree, in its old place. It would not be honest, it would not be kind or fraternal, for me to pretend that Southern revolution against the Union has not reacted, and wrought revolution in the Southern States themselves, and inaugurated a new

pensation. Society here is like a broken loom, and the piece which rebellion put in, and was weaving, has been cut, and every thread broken. You must put in new warp and new woof, and weaving anew, as the fabric slowly unwinds we shall see in it no Gorgon figures, no hideous grotesques of the old barbarism, but the figures of liberty, vines, and golden grains, framing in the heads of justice, love and liberty. The august convention of 1787 formed the constitution with this memorable preamble: "We, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain this constitution for the United States of America." Again, in the awful convention of war, the people of the United States, for the very ends just recited, have debated, settled, and ordained certain fundamental truths, which must henceforth be accepted and obeyed. Nor is any State nor any individual wise who shall disregard them. They are to civil affairs what the natural laws are to health—indispensable conditions of peace and happiness. What are the ordinances given by the people, speaking out of fire and darkness of war, with authority inspired by that same God who gave the law from Sinai amid thunders and trumpet voices? 1. That these United States shall be one and indivisible. 2. That States have not absolute sovereignty, and have no right to dismember the republic. 3. That universal liberty is indispensable to republican government, and that slavery shall be utterly and forever abolished.

Such are the results of war! These are the best fruits of the war. They are worth all they have cost. They are foundations of peace. They will secure benefits to all nations as well as to ours. Our highest wisdom and duty is to accept the facts as the decrees of God. We are exhorted to forget all that has happened. Yes, the wrath, the conflict, the cruelty, but not those overruling decrees of God which this war has pronounced. As solemnly as on Mount Sinai, God says, "Remember! remember!" Hear it to-day. Under this sun, under that bright child of the sun, our banner, with the eyes of this nation and of the world upon us, we repeat the syllables of God's providence and recite the solemn decrees: No more disunion! No more secession! No more slavery! Why did this civil war begin?

We do not wonder that European statesmen fail to comprehend this conflict, and that foreign philanthropists regard it as a murderous war that seemed to have no more like the brutal fights of beasts of prey, to have sprung from vicious animalism. This great nation, filling all the continents, cradled between two oceans with inexhaustible wealth, with richness increasing in an unparalleled ratio, by manufactures, by commerce, with schools and libraries, with books and newspapers thick as leaves in our own hands, with institutions sprung from the people, and peculiar to their genius; a nation not sluggish, but active, prudent, and prudent, practicable in political wisdom, and accurate in government, and all its vast outlying parts held together by a federal government, mild in temper, gentle in its administration, and beneficent in results, seemed to have been forever at peace. All at once, in this hemisphere of happiness and prosperity, came trooping clouds with fiery bolts, full of destruction. At a cannon shot upon this fort, all the nation seemed to be a trained army lying on its arms, awaiting a signal, and began a war which, for awfulness, rises into the ranks of bad eminence. The front of the battle, going from the Atlantic to the Pacific, was twelve hundred miles long; and the depth, measured by the meridian, was a thousand miles. In this vast area of country, millions of men, first and last, for four years, have, in peace and in battle, met in more than a thousand conflicts. The coast and river line, not less than four thousand miles in length, swarmed with fleets freighted with artillery. The whole of the country seemed to have been touched by a magic wand, and, with sudden wheel, changed its front from peace to war. The anvils of the land beat like drums. From the earth ooze emerge monsters, so from our mines and foundries come new and strange machines of war, ironclad. And the people, of peaceful habits, without external provocation, threw up a storm of war as blackened the whole horizon and darkened the sky. What wonder that foreign observers stood amazed at the moral fury, that seemed without divine guidance, and was wholly with infernal frenzy. This explosion was the train had long been laid. We must consider the character of Southern society, if we would understand the nature of its iniquity. Society in the South resolves itself

visions, more sharply distinguished than in any other part of the nation. At the base is the laboring class, made up of slaves. Next, is the middle class, made up of traders, small farmers, and poor men. The lower edge of this class touches the slave, and the upper edge reaches up to the third and ruling class. This class was a small minority in numbers, but in practical ability they had centred in their hands the whole government of the South, and had mainly governed the country. Upon this polished, cultured, exceedingly capable, and wholly unprincipled class, rests the whole burden of this war. Forced up by the bottom heat of slavery, the ruling class in all the disloyal States arrogated to themselves a superiority not compatible with republican equality, nor with just morals. They claimed a right of pre-eminence. An evil prophet arose who trained these wild and luxuriant shoots of ambition to the shapely form of a political philosophy. By its reagents they precipitated drudgery to the bottom of society, and left at the top what they thought to be a clarified fluid. In their political economy, labor was to be owned by capital; in their theory of government, the few were to rule the many. They boldly avowed, not the fact alone, that, under all forms of government, the few rule the many, but their right and duty to do so. Set free from the necessity of labor, they conceived a contempt for those who felt its wholesome regimen. Believing themselves foreordained to supremacy, they regarded the popular vote, when it failed to register their wishes, as an intrusion and a nuisance. They were born in a garden, and popular liberty, like freshets overswelling their banks, but covered their daily walks and flowers with slime and mud—of Democratic votes. When, with shrewd observation, they saw the growth of the popular element in the Northern States, they instinctively took in the inevitable events. It must be controlled or cut off from a nation governed by gentlemen! Controlled, less and less, could it be in every decade; and they prepared secretly, earnestly, and with wide conference and mutual connivance, to separate the South from the North. We are to distinguish between the pretences and means, and the real causes of this war. To inflame and unite the great middle class of the South, who had no interest in separation and no business with war, they alleged grievances that never existed, and employed arguments, which they, better than all other men, knew to be specious and false.

Slavery itself was cared for only as an instrument of power and excitement. They had unalterably fixed their eye upon the empire, and all was good which would secure that, and bad which hindered it. Thus, the ruling class of the South—an aristocracy as intense, proud, and inflexible as ever existed—not limited either by customs or institutions, not recognized and adjusted to the regular order of society, playing a reciprocal part in its machinery, but secret, disowning its own existence, baptized with ostentatious names of democracy, obsequious to the people for the sake of governing them; this nameless, lurking aristocracy that ran in the blood of society like a rash not yet come to the skin; this political tapeworm, that produced nothing, but coiled in the body, feeding on its nutriment, and holding the whole structure to be but a servant set up to nourish it; this aristocracy of the plantation, with firm and deliberate resolution brought on the war, that they might cut the land in two, clearing themselves from an incorrigibly free society, setting up a sterner, statelier empire, where slaves worked that gentlemen might live at ease. Nor can there be any doubt that though at first, they meant to erect the form of republican government, it was but a device, a step necessary to the securing of that power by which they should be able to change the whole economic society. That they never dreamed of such a war, we may believe. That they would have accepted it, though two-thirds bloody, if only thus they could rule, none can doubt that knew the temper of these worst men of modern society. But they miscalculated. They understood the people of the South as they were totally incapable of understanding the character of the great working classes of the loyal States. That industry, which is the foundation of independence, and so of equity, they stigmatized as stupid drudgery, or as mean avarice. That general intelligence and independence of thought which schools for the common people and newspapers breed, they reviled as the instrument of unsettled zeal, running easily into fanaticism. They more thoroughly misunderstood the profound sentiment of patriotism, the deep love of country, which pervaded the common people. If those who knew them best had never suspected the depth and power of that love of country which threw it into the agony of grief when the flag was here humbled, how should they conceive of it who were wholly disjoined from them in

pathy? The whole land rose up, you remember, when the flag came down, as if inspired unconsciously by the breath of the Almighty, and the power of omnipotence. It was as when one pierces the bands of the Mississippi for a rivulet, and the whole raging stream plunges through with headlong course. There they calculated, and miscalculated! And more than all, they miscalculated the bravery of men who have been trained under law, who are civilized and hate personal brawls, who are so protected by society as to have dismissed all thought of self-defence, the whole force of whose life is turned to peaceful pursuits. These arrogant conspirators against government, with Chinese vanity, believed that they could blow away these self-respecting citizens as chaff from the battlefield. Few of them are left alive to ponder their mistake! Here, then, are the roots of this civil war. It was not a quarrel of wild beasts, it was an inflection of the strife of ages, between power and right, between ambition and equity. An armed band of pestilent conspirators sought the nation's life. Her children rose up and fought at every door and room and hall, to thrust out the murderers and save the house and the household. It was not legitimately a war between the common people of the North and South. The war was set on by the ruling class, the aristocratic conspirators of the South. They suborned the common people with lies, with sophistries, with cruel deceits and slanders, to fight for secret objects which they abhorred, and against interests as dear to them as their own lives. I charge the whole guilt of this war upon the ambitious, educated, plotting, political leaders of the South. They have shed this ocean of blood. They have desolated the South. They have poured poverty through all her towns and cities. They have bewildered the imaginations of the people with phantasms, and led them to believe that they were fighting for their homes and liberty, whose homes were unthreatened, and whose liberty was in no jeopardy. These arrogant instigators of civil war have renewed the plagues of Egypt, not that the oppressed might go free, but that the free might be oppressed. A day will come when God will reveal judgment, and arraign at his bar these mighty miscreants, and then, every orphan that their bloody game has made, and every widow that sits sorrowing, and every maimed and wounded sufferer, and every bereaved heart in all the wide regions of this land, will rise and come be-

fore the Lord to lay upon these chief culprits of modern warfare their awful witness. And from a thousand battlefields shall rise up armies of airy witnesses, who, with the memories of their awful sufferings, shall confront the miscreants with their fierce accusation; and every pale and starved prisoner shall point his skinny hand in judgment. Blood shall call out for vengeance, and tears shall plead for justice, and grief shall beckon, and love, heart-smitten, shall wail for justice. The men and angels will cry out, "How long, O Lord, wilt thou not avenge?" And, then, these guiltiest, these remorseless traitors, these high and cultured men—men of science and wisdom, used for the destruction of their country—these men, accursed and detested of all criminals, that have drenched the continent in needless blood, and moved the foundations of the earth with hideous crimes and cruelty, caught up in the clouds, full of voices and vengeance and lurid with passion, shall be whirled aloft and plunged downwards forever into the sea of fire, ever in an endless retribution; while God shall say, "It be to all who betray their country"; and all in heaven and upon earth will say "Amen!"

But for the people misled, for the multitudes of our country driven into this civil war, let not a trace of animosity remain. The moment their willing hand drops the musket, and they turn to their allegiance, then stretch out your own hands to greet them. Recall to them the old days of peace. Our hearts wait for their redemption. All the resources of the renovated nation shall be applied to rebuild their homes and smooth down the furrows of war. Has this long period of strife been an unmingled evil? Has no good been gained? Yes, much. This nation has attained to its highest point. Among Indian customs is one which admits young men to the rank of warriors only after severe trials of hunger, fatigue, and endurance. They reach their station, not through hardships and ordeals. Our nation has suffered, but now is stronger. The sentiment of loyalty and patriotism, next in importance to religion, has been rooted and grounded. We have something to be proud of, and pride helps love. Never so much as now do we love our country. But four such years of education in the knowledge of political truth, in the love of his country, in the geography of our own country, almost every inch

have probed with the bayonet, have never passed before. There is half a hundred years' advance in four. We believed in our institutions and principles before; but now we know their power. It is one thing to look upon artillery, and be sure that it is loaded; it is another thing to prove its power in battle! We believe in the hidden power stored in our institutions; we had never before seen this nation thundering like Mount Sinai at all those that worshipped the calf at the base of the mountain. A people educated and moral are competent to all the exigencies of national life. A vote can govern better than a crown. We have proved it. A people intelligent and religious are strong in all economic elements. They are fitted for peace and competent to war. They are not easily inflamed, and, when justly incensed, not easily extinguished. They are patient in adversity, endure cheerfully needful burdens, tax themselves to meet real wants more royally than any prince would dare to tax his people. They pour forth without stint relief for the sufferings of war, and raise charity out of the realm of a dole into a munificent duty of beneficence. The habit of industry among free men prepares them to meet the exhaustion of war with increase of productiveness commensurate with the need that exists. Their habits of skill enable them at once to supply such armies as only freedom can muster, with arms and munitions such as only free industry can create. Free society is terrible in war, and afterwards repairs the mischief of war with celerity almost as great as that with which the ocean heals the seams gashed in it by the keels of ploughing ships. Free society is fruitful of military genius. It comes when called; when no longer needed, it falls back as waves do to the level of the common sea, that no wave may be greater than the undivided water. With proof of strength so great, yet in its infancy, we stand up among the nations of the world, asking no privileges, asserting no rights, but quietly assuming our place, and determined to be second to none in the race of civilization and religion. Of all nations we are the most dangerous and the least to be feared. We need not expound the perils that wait upon enemies that assault us. They are sufficiently understood! But we are not a dangerous people because we are warlike. All the arrogant attitudes of this nation, so offensive to foreign governments, were inspired by slavery, and under the administration of its minions. Our tastes, our habits,

our interests, and our principles, incline us to the arts of peace. This nation was founded by the common people for the common people. We are seeking to embody in public economy more liberty, with higher justice and virtue, than have been organized before. By the necessity of our doctrines, we are put in sympathy with the masses of men in all nations. It is not our business to subdue nations, but to augment the powers of the common people. The vulgar ambition of mere domination, which it belongs to universal human nature, may tempt us; but it has withstood by the whole force of our principles, our habits, our precedents, and our legends. We acknowledge the obligations which our better political principles lay upon us, to set an example more temperate, humane, and just, than monarchical governments can. We will not suffer wrong, and still less will we inflict it upon other nations. Nor are we concerned that so many are ignorant of our conflict, for the present, misconceive the reasons of our invincible military zeal. "Why contend," say they, "for a little territory that you do not need?" Because it is our interest. Because it is the interest of every citizen to save it from becoming a fortress and refuge of iniquity. This nation is our house, and our father's house; and accursed be the man who will not defend it to the uttermost. More territory than we need! England that is not large enough to be our pocket, may think that is more than we need, because it is more than it needs; but we are better judges of what we need than others are.

Shall a philanthropist say to a banker, who defends himself against a robber, "Why do you need so much money?" Here we will not reason with such questions. When any foreign nation willingly will divide its territory and give it cheerfully away, we will answer the question why we are fighting for territory. At present—for I pass to the considerations of benefits that accrue to the South in distinction from the rest of the nation—the South reaps only suffering; but good seed lies buried under the furrows of war, that peace will bring to harvest. 1. Deadly doctrines have been purged away in blood. The subtle poison of secession was a perpetual threat of revolution. The sword has ended that danger. That which reason has affirmed as a philosophy, that people have settled as a fact. Theory pronounced "There can be no permanent government where each integral particle has liberty to fly off." Who would venture upon a

age in a ship each plank and timber of which might withdraw at its pleasure? But the people have reasoned by the logic of the sword and of the ballot, and they have declared that the States are inseparable parts of the national government. They are not sovereign. State rights remain; but sovereignty is a right higher than all others; and that has been made into a common stock for the benefit of all. All further agitation is ended. This element must be cast out of political problems. Henceforth that poison will not rankle in the blood. 2. Another thing has been learned; the rights and duties of minorities. The people of the whole nation are of more authority than the people of any section. These United States are supreme over Northern, Western and Southern States. It ought not to have required the awful chastisement of this war to teach that a minority must submit the control of the nation's government to a majority. The army and navy have been good political schoolmasters. The lesson is learned. Not for many generations will it require further illustration. 3. No other lesson will be more fruitful of peace than the dispersion of those conceits of vanity, which, on either side, have clouded the recognition of the manly courage of all Americans. If it be a sign of manhood to be able to fight, then Americans are men. The North is in no doubt whatever of the soldierly qualities of Southern men. Southern soldiers have learned that all latitudes breed courage on this continent. Courage is a passport to respect. The people of all the regions of this nation are likely hereafter to cherish a generous admiration of each other's prowess. The war has bred respect, and respect will breed affection, and affection peace and unity. 4. No other event of the war can fill an intelligent Southern man, of candid nature, with more surprise than the revelation of the capacity, moral and military, of the black race. It is a revelation indeed. No people were ever less understood by those most familiar with them. They were said to be lazy, lying, impudent, and cowardly wretches, driven by the whip alone to the tasks needful to their own support and the functions of civilization. They were said to be dangerous, bloodthirsty, liable to insurrection; but four years of tumultuous distress and war have rolled across the area inhabited by them, and I have yet to hear of one authentic instance of the misconduct of a colored man. They have been patient and gentle and docile, and full of faith

and hope and piety; and, when summoned to freedom, they have emerged with all the signs and tokens that freedom will be to them what it was to us, the swaddling-band that shall bring them to manhood. And after the government, honoring them as men, summoned them to the field, when once they were disciplined, and had learned the arts of war, they have proved themselves to be not second to their white brethren in arms. And when the roll of men that have shed their blood is called in the other land, many and many a dusky face will rise, dark no more when the light of eternal glory shall shine upon it from the throne of God! 5. The industry of the Southern States is regenerated, and now rests upon a basis that never fails to bring prosperity. Just now industry is collapsed; but it is not dead; it sleepeth. It is a vital yet. It will spring like mown grass from the roots that need but showers and heat and time to bring them forth. Though in many districts not a generation will see wanton wastes of self-invoked war repaired, and many portions may lapse again to wilderness, yet, in our lifetime, we shall see States, as a whole, raised to prosperity, vital, wholesome and immovable. 6. The destruction of class interests working with a religion which tends toward true democracy, in proportion as it is pure and free, will create a new era of prosperity for the common laboring-people of the South. Upon them have come the labor, the toil, and the loss of this war. They have fought blindfolded. They have fought for a class that sought their degradation, while they were made to believe it was for their own homes and altars. Their leaders meant a supremacy which would not long have left them political liberty, save in name. But their leaders are swept away. The sword has been hungry for the ruling classes. It has sought them out with remorseless zeal. New men are to rise up; new ideas are to bud and blossom; and there will be men with different ambition and altered policy. 7. Meanwhile the South, no longer a land of plantations, but of farms; no longer tilled by slaves, but by freedom, will find no hinderance to the spread of education. Schools will multiply. Books and papers will spread. Churches will bless every hamlet. There is a good day coming for the South. Through darkness, and tears, and blood she has sought it. It has been an unconscious *via dolorosa*. But in the end it will be worth all that it has cost. Her institutions before were deadly. She nourished death in her bosom.

The greater her secular prosperity, the more sure was her ruin. Every year of delay but made the change more terrible. Now, by an earthquake, the evil is shaken down. And her own historians, in a better day, shall write, that from the day the sword cut off the cancer, she began to find her health. What, then, shall hinder the rebuilding of the republic? The evil spirit is cast out; why should not this nation cease to wander among tombs, cutting itself? Why should it not come, clothed and in its right mind, to "sit at the feet of Jesus"? Is it feared that the government will oppress the conquered States? What possible motive has the government to narrow the base of that pyramid on which its own permanence depends? Is it feared that the rights of the States will be withheld? The South is not more jealous of State rights than the North. State rights from the earliest colonial days have been the peculiar pride and jealousy of New England.

In every stage of national formation, it was peculiarly Northern, and not Southern statesmen that guarded State rights as we were forming the constitution. But once united, the loyal States gave up forever that which had been delegated to the national government. And now, in the hour of victory, the loyal States do not mean to trench upon Southern State rights. They will not do it, nor suffer it to be done. There is not to be one rule for high latitudes and another for low. We take nothing from the Southern States that has not already been taken from the Northern. The South shall have just those rights that every Eastern, every Middle, every Western State has—no more, no less. We are not seeking our own aggrandizement by impoverishing the South. Its prosperity is an indispensable element of our own.

We have shown by all that we have suffered in war, how great is our estimate of the Southern States of this Union; and we will measure that estimate, now, in peace, by still greater exertions for their rebuilding. Will reflecting men not perceive, then, the wisdom of accepting established facts, and, with alacrity of enterprise, begin to retrieve the past? Slavery cannot come back. It is the interest, therefore, of every man to hasten its end. Do you want more war? Are you not yet weary of contest? Will you gather up the unexploded fragments of this prodigious magazine of all mischief, and heap them up for continued

explosions? Does not the South need peace? And, since labor is inevitable, will you have it in its worst forms or best? Shall it be ignorant, impertinent, indolent, or shall it be educated, self-respecting, moral, and self-supporting? Will you have men as drudges, or will you have them as citizens? They have vindicated the government, and cemented its foundation stones with their blood, may they not offer the tribute of their support to maintain its laws and its policy? It is better for religion; it is better for political integrity; it is better for industry; it is better for money—if you will have that ground-tive—that you should educate the black man, and, by education, make him a citizen. They who refuse education to the black man would turn the South into a vast poorhouse, and labor would be a pendulum, incessantly vibrating between poverty and plenty. From this pulpit of broken stones we speak forth our earnest greeting to all our land. We offer to the President of these United States our solemn congratulations that God has sustained his life and health under the unparalleled burden of the sufferings of four bloody years, and permitted him to behold the auspicious consummation of that national unity for which he has waited with so much patience and fortitude, and for which he has labored with such disinterested wisdom. To the members of the government associated with him in the administration of perilous affairs in critical times; to the senators and representatives of the United States, who have eagerly fashioned the instruments by which the popular will might express and enforce itself, we tender our grateful thanks. To the officers and men of the army and navy, who have so faithfully, skillfully, and gloriously upheld their country's authority, by suffering labor, and sublime courage, we offer a heart-tribute beyond the compass of words. Upon those true and faithful citizens, men and women, who have borne up with unflinching hope in the darkest hour and covered the land with their labor of love and charity, we invoke the divinest blessing of him whom they have so truly imitated. But chiefly to thee, God of our fathers, we render thanksgiving and praise for that wondrous Providence that has brought forth from such a harvest of war the seed of so much liberty and peace! We invoke peace upon the North! Peace be to the West! Peace be upon the South! In the name of God we lift up our banner, and dedicate it to peace, union

ON NOMINATING GENERAL GRANT
FOR A THIRD TERM

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BY

ROSCOE CONKLING

ROSCOE CONKLING

1829—1888

Roscoe Conkling was for many years one of the most prominent before the country. Born in Albany in 1829, he spent the first part of his life there, and at the age of thirteen entered Mount Saint Vincent Collegiate Institute in New York. In 1846 he entered the law office of a prominent firm in Utica and was admitted to the bar a few years later. He was prosecuting attorney of his county in 1853, and associating himself with the ablest men in the law practice, he was elected mayor of that town in 1858, and representative of Oneida County in the same year. Conkling had been a leading member of the new Republican party and gained, in the process, a wide reputation as a pleader at the bar. He took his part in the presidential campaign of 1860, and during both of Lincoln's presidential campaigns he worked zealously in behalf of the Republican party.

Elected to the Senate from New York in 1867, he soon became a powerful figure in national politics, and frequently served on important committees. He was a strong supporter of Grant's administration, and was nominated him for a third term at the Chicago convention in 1872. During the campaign following he worked in the interest of Grant, though at great personal and pecuniary sacrifices to himself.

The last time Conkling came prominently before the country was in the controversy with President Garfield arising out of the nomination of Robertson to the post of Collector of the Port of New York, a contest, which was long and severe, ended in the resignation of Robertson and Platt from the Senate. Conkling resumed his law practice, and more became one of the leaders in his profession. He died in New York City on April 18, 1888, after an exposure to the great public during that year. As a legislator Conkling's influence was for some time a powerful ponderant in the Senate. As a pleader at the bar he had for

ON NOMINATING GENERAL GRANT FOR A THIRD TERM

*Delivered in the National Republican Convention at Chicago,
Illinois, June, 1880*

WHEN asked whence comes our candidate, we say from Appomattox. Obeying instructions I should never dare to disregard, expressing also my own firm conviction, I rise in behalf of the State of New York to propose a nomination with which the country and the Republican party can grandly win. The election before us will be the Austerlitz of American politics. It will decide whether for years to come the country will be "Republican or Cossack." The need of the hour is a candidate who can carry the doubtful States, North and South; and believing that he more surely than any other can carry New York against any opponent, and carry not only the North, but several States of the South, New York is for Ulysses S. Grant. He alone of living Republicans has carried New York as a Presidential candidate. Once he carried it even according to a Democratic count, and twice he carried it by the people's vote, and he is stronger now. The Republican party with its standard in his hand is stronger now than in 1868 or 1872. Never defeated in war or in peace, his name is the most illustrious borne by any living man; his services attest his greatness, and the country knows them by heart. His fame was born not alone of things written and said, but of the arduous greatness of things done, and dangers and emergencies will search in vain in the future, as they have searched in vain in the past, for any other on whom the nation leans with such confidence and trust. Standing on the highest eminence of human distinction, and having filled all lands with his renown, modest, firm, simple, and self-poised, he has seen, not only the titled, but

the poor and the lowly, in the utmost ends of the world rise and uncover before him. He has studied the needs and defects of many systems of government, and he comes back a better American than ever, with a wealth of knowledge and experience added to the hard common-sense which so conspicuously distinguished him in all the fierce light that beat upon him throughout the most eventful, trying, and perilous sixteen years of the nation's history.

Never having had "a policy to enforce against the will of the people," he never betrayed a cause or a friend, and the people will never betray or desert him. Vilified and reviled, truthlessly aspersed by numberless presses, not in other lands, but on his own, the assaults upon him have strengthened and seasoned his hold upon the public heart. The ammunition of calumny has all been exploded; the powder has all been burned once, the force is spent, and General Grant's name will glitter as a bright and imperishable star in the diadem of the republic when those who have tried to tarnish it will have mouldered in forgotten graves and their memories and epitaphs have vanished utterly.

Never elated by success, never depressed by adversity, he has ever in peace as in war shown the very genius of common-sense. The terms he prescribed for Lee's surrender foreshadowed the wisest principles and prophecies of true reconstruction.

Victor in the greatest of modern wars, he quickly signaled his aversion to war and his love of peace by an arbitration of international disputes which stands as the wisest and most majestic example of its kind in the world's diplomacy. When inflation, at the height of its popularity and frenzy, had swayed both Houses of Congress, it was the veto of Grant which, singly and alone, overthrew expansion and cleared the way for speedy resumption. To him, immeasurably more than to any other man, is due the fact that every paper dollar is as good as gold. With him as our leader, we shall have no defensive campaign, no apologies or explanations to make. The shafts and arrows have all been aimed at him and lie broken and harmless at his feet. Life, liberty, and property will find a safeguard in him. When he said of the black man in Florida, "Wherever I am they may come also," he meant that, had he the power to help the poor dwellers in the cabins of the South should not be driven in terror from the homes of their childhood and the graves

their murdered dead. When he refused to receive Denis Kearney he meant that the lawlessness and communism, although it should dictate laws to a whole city, would everywhere meet a foe in him, and, popular or unpopular, he will hew to the line of right, let the chips fly where they may.

His integrity, his common-sense, his courage, and his unequalled experience are the qualities offered to his country. The only argument against accepting them would amaze Solomon. He thought there could be nothing new under the sun. Having tried Grant twice and found him faithful, we are told we must not, even after an interval of years, trust him again. What stultification does not such a fallacy involve? The American people exclude Jefferson Davis from public trust. Why? Because he was the arch traitor and would be a destroyer. And now the same people are asked to ostracise Grant and not trust him. Why? Because he was the arch preserver of his country; because, not only in war, but afterward, twice as a civic magistrate, he gave his highest, noblest efforts to the republic. Is such absurdity an electioneering jugglery or hypocrisy's masquerade?

There is no field of human activity, responsibility, or reason in which rational beings object to Grant because he has been weighed in the balance and not found wanting, and because he has had unequalled experience, making him exceptionally competent and fit. From the man who shoes your horse to the lawyer who pleads your case, the officer who manages your railway, the doctor into whose hands you give your life, or the minister who seeks to save your soul, what now do you reject because you have tried him and by his works have known him? What makes the Presidential office an exception to all things else in the common-sense to be applied to selecting its incumbent? Who dares to put fetters on the free choice and judgment, which is the birthright of the American people? Can it be said that Grant has used official power to perpetuate his plan? He has no place. No official power has been used by him. Without patronage or power, without telegraph wires running from his house to the convention, without electioneering contrivances, without effort on his part, his name is on his country's lips, and he is struck at by the whole Democratic party because his nomination will be the deathblow to Demo-

cratic success. He is struck at by others who find offense in the disqualification in the very service he has rendered and the experience he has gained. Show me a better man. I will show you one and I am answered; but do not point, as a disqualification, to the very facts which make this man fit beyond all others. Not his not experience disqualify or excellence impeach him. There is no third term in the case, and the pretence will die with the political dog-days which engendered it. Nobody is really worried about a third term except those hopelessly long in the first term and the dupes they have made. Without the aid of committees, officials, or emissaries to manufacture success in his favor, without intrigue or effort on his part, Grant, the candidate whose supporters have never threatened to betray him, they say, he is a Republican who never wavers. He has his friends stood by the creed and the candidates of the Republican party, holding the right of a majority as the very essence of their faith, and meaning to uphold that faith against the corruption of the enemy and the charlatans and the guerillas who from time to time deploy between the lines and forage on one side or the other.

The Democratic party is a standing protest against progress. Its purposes are spoils. Its hope and very existence is in the South. Its success is a menace to prosperity and order.

This convention, as master of a supreme opportunity, will name the next President of the United States and make good his election and his peaceful inauguration. It can bring to power which dominates and mildews the South. It can lead the nation in a career of grandeur eclipsing all past achievements. We have only to listen above the din and look through the dust of an hour to behold the Republican party advancing to victory with its greatest marshal at its head.

FUNERAL ORATION ON GARFIELD

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BY

JAMES GILLESPIE BLAINE

JAMES GILLESPIE BLAINE

1830—1893

James Gillespie Blaine was of Scotch-Irish descent, his mother being a Roman Catholic. He was born at West Brownsville, Pennsylvania, January 31, 1830. Taught first by his father, he was later sent to school at Lancaster, Ohio. He graduated from Washington College in his own county in 1847. In the mean time he had been teaching school in Kentucky and had married a Miss Stanwood from Maine. His journalistic career began in 1854, when he became one of the proprietors of the "Kennebec Journal."

Blaine soon became prominent in politics, and before he was thirty years of age was the Republican leader of his State. He was a delegate to the Republican convention that nominated Fremont in 1856 and became one of his ardent supporters on the platform in the campaign that followed. Blaine was elected a member of the Maine Legislature in 1859, 1860, 1861, and 1862; was elected to Congress in 1862, being Speaker of the Forty-first and Forty-second Congresses. Both in the House and in the Senate, 1876-1881, he made his influence felt. He had a large share in the reconstruction legislation for the South. At the national Republican convention in 1876 he came within twenty-eight votes of a nomination in the balloting for a presidential candidate. Blaine was a strong advocate of measures calculated to revive American shipping. Upon Garfield's election as President, Blaine was appointed Secretary of State. During his secretaryship, which lasted but a few months, his efforts were directed chiefly to establishing close relations with the South American republics. Relieved both from official and legislative duties, Blaine began his large work, "Twenty Years in Congress." He received the Republican nomination for President in 1884. The vote at the November election was very close, and Blaine was defeated, his opponent, Grover Cleveland, being elected by a small majority. Blaine soon resumed his literary labors and went abroad.

Under Harrison's administration Blaine was again appointed Secretary of State. His labors in this capacity, all tending to increase American prestige at home and abroad, have been duly appreciated by his countrymen. There is something pathetic in his repeated disappointments in attaining to the highest office in the gift of the people to which, in the opinion of his numerous admirers, his great services to party and people and his sturdy Americanism seem to have entitled him. He died in Washington, January 27, 1893. His "Oration on Garfield" is a splendid and eloquent tribute to the martyr President.

FUNERAL ORATION ON GARFIELD

In the hall of the House of Representatives, February 27, 1882

MR. PRESIDENT: For the second time in this generation the great departments of the government of the United States are assembled in the Hall of Representatives to do honor to the memory of a murdered President. Lincoln fell at the close of a mighty struggle, in which the passions of men had been deeply stirred. The tragical termination of his great life added but another to the lengthened succession of horrors which had marked so many lintels with the blood of the firstborn. Garfield was slain in a day of peace, when brother had been reconciled to brother, and when anger and hate had been banished from the land.

“Whoever shall hereafter draw a portrait of murder, if he will show it as it has been exhibited where such example was last to have been looked for, let him not give it the grim visage of Moloch, the brow knitted by revenge, the face black with settled hate. Let him draw, rather, a decorous, smooth-faced, bloodless demon; not so much an example of human nature in its depravity and in its paroxysms of crime, as an infernal being, a fiend in the ordinary display and development of his character.”

From the landing of the Pilgrims at Plymouth till the uprising against Charles I about twenty thousand emigrants came from old England to New England. As they came in pursuit of intellectual freedom and ecclesiastical independence, rather than for worldly honor and profit, the emigration naturally ceased when the contest for religious liberty began in earnest at home. The man who struck his most effective blow for freedom of conscience, by sailing for the colonies in 1620, would have been accounted a deserter to leave after 1640. The opportunity had then come on the soil of England for that great con-

test which established the authority of Parliamentary religious freedom to the people, sent Charles to the block, committed to the hands of Oliver Cromwell the supreme executive authority of England. The English emigration renewed, and from these twenty thousand men, who, with the emigration from Scotland and from France, are deemed vast numbers who have New England blood in the veins.

In 1685 the revocation of the Edict of Nantes by Louis XIV. scattered to other countries four hundred thousand French subjects—who were among the most intelligent and enterprising of the French subjects—merchants of capital, skilled mechanics and handicraftsmen superior at the time to all others. A considerable number of these Huguenot Frenchmen came to America; a few landed in England and became prominent in its history. Their names have in large measure been Anglicized, or have disappeared, but their blood is in many of the most reputable families, and their memory is perpetuated in honorable memorials and useful institutions.

From these two sources the English-Puritan and the Huguenot, came the late President—his father, Abner D. Garfield, being descended from the one, and his mother, Mary Ballou, from the other.

It was good luck on both sides—none better, none truer. There was in it an inheritance of courage, of firmness, of imperishable love of liberty, of undying attachment to principle. Garfield was proud of his blood; and, with a deep satisfaction as if he were a British nobleman reading his ancestral record in Burke's "Peerage," he spoke of himself as ninth in descent from those who would not endure the oppression of the Stuarts, and seventh in descent from the French Protestants who refused to submit to tyrannical rule by the Grand Monarque.

General Garfield delighted to dwell on these traits. On his only visit to England he busied himself in discovering the trace of his forefathers in parish registers and on armorial rolls. Sitting with a friend in the gallery of the House of Commons one night after a long day's labor in this field, he said with evident elation that in every war in which the centuries patriots of English blood had struck sturdy blows for constitutional government and human liberty, his

been represented. They were at Marston Moor, at Naseby, and at Preston; they were at Bunker Hill, at Saratoga, and at Monmouth, and in his own person had battled for the same great cause in the war which preserved the union of the States.

Losing his father before he was two years old, the early life of Garfield was one of privation; but its poverty has been made indelicately and unjustly prominent. Thousands of readers have imagined him as the ragged, starving child, whose reality too often greets the eye in the squalid sections of our large cities. General Garfield's infancy and youth had none of their destitution, none of their pitiful features appealing to the tender heart and to the open hand of charity. He was a poor boy in the same sense in which Henry Clay was a poor boy; in which Andrew Jackson was a poor boy; in which Daniel Webster was a poor boy; in the sense in which the large majority of the eminent men of America in all generations have been poor boys. Before a great multitude of men, in a public speech, Mr. Webster bore this testimony:

"It did not happen to me to be born in a log cabin, but my elder brothers and sisters were born in a log cabin raised amid the snow-drifts of New Hampshire, at a period so early that when the smoke rose first from its rude chimney and curled over the frozen hills, there was no similar evidence of a white man's habitation between it and the settlements on the rivers of Canada. Its remains still exist. I make to it an annual visit. I carry my children to it to teach them the hardships endured by the generations which have gone before them. I love to dwell on the tender recollections, the kindred ties, the early affections, and the touching narratives and incidents which mingle with all I know of this primitive family abode."

With the requisite change of scene the same words would aptly portray the early days of Garfield. The poverty of the frontier, where all are engaged in a common struggle, and where a common sympathy and hearty co-operation lighten the burdens of each, is a very different poverty—different in kind, different in influence and effect—from that conscious and humiliating indigence which is every day forced to contrast itself with neighboring wealth on which it feels a sense of grinding dependence. The poverty of the frontier is, indeed, no poverty. It is but the beginning of wealth, and has the boundless

possibilities of the future always opening before it. No one ever grew up in the agricultural regions of the West, without house-raising, or even a corn-husking, is a matter of common interest and helpfulness, with any other feeling than that of broad-minded, generous independence. This honorable independence marked the youth of Garfield as it marks the youth of millions of the best blood and brain now training for the future citizenship and future government of the republic. Garfield was born heir to land, to the title of freeholder which has been the patent and passport of self-respect with the Anglo-Saxon race ever since Hengist and Horsa landed on the shores of England. His adventure on the canal—an alternative between that and the deck of a Lake Erie schooner—was a farmer boy's device for earning money, just as the New England lad begins a possibly great career by sailing before the mast on a coasting vessel or on a merchantman bound for farther India or to the China seas.

No manly man feels anything of shame in looking back on his early struggles with adverse circumstances, and no man has a worthier pride than when he has conquered the obstacles of his progress. But no one of noble mould desires to be remembered upon as having occupied a menial position, as having been depressed by a feeling of inferiority, or as having suffered through poverty until relief was found at the hand of charity. General Garfield's youth presented no hardships which family and family energy did not overcome, subjected him to no conditions which he did not cheerfully accept, and left no memories save those which were recalled with delight, and transcribed with profit and with pride.

Garfield's early opportunities for securing an education were extremely limited, and yet were sufficient to develop in him an intense desire to learn. He could read at three years of age, and each winter he had the advantage of the district school. He read all the books to be found within the circle of his acquaintance; some of them he got by heart. While yet in childhood he was a constant student of the Bible, and became familiar with its literature. The dignity and earnestness of his speech in his maturer life gave evidence of this early training. At eight years of age he was able to teach school, and thenceforward his ambition was to obtain a college education. To this end

bent all his efforts, working in the harvest field, at the carpenter's bench, and in the winter season teaching the common schools of the neighborhood. While thus laboriously occupied, he found time to prosecute his studies, and was so successful that at twenty-two years of age he was able to enter the junior class at Williams College, then under the presidency of the venerable and honored Mark Hopkins, who, in the fulness of his powers, survives the eminent pupil to whom he was of inestimable service.

The history of Garfield's life to this period presents no novel features. He had undoubtedly shown perseverance, self-reliance, self-sacrifice, and ambition—qualities which, be it said for the honor of our country, are everywhere to be found among the young men of America. But from this graduation at Williams onward, to the hour of tragical death, Garfield's career was eminent and exceptional. Slowly working through his educational period, receiving his diploma when twenty-four years of age, he seemed at one bound to spring into conspicuous and brilliant success. Within six years he was successively president of a college, State senator of Ohio, major-general of the army of the United States, and representative-elect to the national Congress. A combination of honors so varied, so elevated, within a period so brief and to a man so young, is without precedent or parallel in the history of the country.

Garfield's army life was begun with no other military knowledge than such as he had gained from books in the few months preceding his march to the field. Stepping from civil life to the head of a regiment, the first order he received when ready to cross the Ohio was to assume command of a brigade, and to operate as an independent force in eastern Kentucky. His immediate duty was to check the advance of Humphrey Marshall, who was marching down the Big Sandy with the intention of occupying in connection with other Confederate forces the entire territory of Kentucky, and of precipitating the State into secession. This was at the close of the year 1861. Seldom, if ever, has a young college professor been thrown into a more embarrassing and discouraging position. He knew just enough of military science, as he expressed it himself, to measure the extent of his ignorance, and with a handful of men he was marching, in rough winter weather, into a strange country, among a

hostile population, to confront a largely superior the command of a distinguished graduate of West Point who had seen active and important service in two previous campaigns.

The result of the campaign is a matter of history. It was the endurance, the extraordinary energy shown by the commander, the courage imparted to his men, raw and untried, the measures he adopted to increase his force and the effect on the enemy's mind exaggerated estimates of his resources, the perfect fruit in the routing of Marshall, the capture of the dispersion of his force, and the emancipation of a vast territory from the control of the rebellion. (C) The close of a long series of disasters to the Union army, this victory had an unusual and extraneous importance. Popular judgment elevated the young commander to the rank of a military hero. With less than two thousand men, his entire command, with a mobilized force of only eleven thousand without cannon, he had met an army of five thousand and defeated them, driving Marshall's forces successively from the strongholds of their own selection, fortified with a confidence in the enemy. Major-General Buell, commanding the division from the Ohio, an experienced and able soldier of the war, published an order of thanks and congratulation to the brilliant result of the Big Sandy campaign which was turned the head of a less cool and sensible man. General Buell declared that his services had called into action the best qualities of a soldier, and President Lincoln responded to these words of praise by the more substantial reward of a brigadier-general's commission, to bear date from the day of the decisive victory over Marshall.

The subsequent military career of Garfield fully justified this brilliant beginning. With his new commission he was assigned to the command of a brigade in the Army of the Cumberland. He took part in the second decisive day's fight in the great battle of Shiloh. The remainder of the year 1862 was uneventful to Garfield, as it was not to the armies with which he was serving. His practical sense was called into play in completing the task assigned him by General Buell, in constructing bridges and re-establishing lines of railroads for the army. His occupation in this unusual service was brilliant, field was varied by service on courts-martial.

tance in which department of duty he won a valuable reputation, attracting the notice and securing the approval of the able and eminent judge-advocate-general of the army. That of itself was a warrant to honorable fame; for among the great men who in those trying days gave themselves, with entire devotion, to the service of their country, one who brought to that service the ripest learning, the most fervid eloquence, the most varied attainments, who labored with modesty and shunned applause, who in the day of triumph sat reserved and silent and grateful—as Francis Deak in the hour of Hungary's deliverance—was Joseph Holt, of Kentucky, who, in his honorable retirement enjoys the respect and veneration of all who love the union of the States.

Early in 1863 Garfield was assigned to the highly important and responsible post of chief of staff to General Rosecrans, then at the head of the Army of the Cumberland. Perhaps in a great military campaign no subordinate officer requires sounder judgment and quicker knowledge of men than the chief of staff to the commanding general. An indiscreet man in such a position can sow more discord, breed more jealousy, and disseminate more strife than any other officer in the entire organization. When General Garfield assumed his new duties he found various troubles already well developed and seriously affecting the value and efficiency of the Army of the Cumberland. The energy, the impartiality, and the tact with which he sought to allay these dissensions, and to discharge the duties of his new and trying position, will always remain one of the most striking proofs of his great versatility. His military duties closed on the memorable field of Chickamauga, a field which however disastrous to the Union arms gave to him the occasion of winning imperishable laurels. The very rare distinction was accorded him of great promotion for his bravery on a field that was lost. President Lincoln appointed him a major-general in the army of the United States for gallant and meritorious conduct in the battle of Chickamauga.

The army of the Cumberland was reorganized under the command of General Thomas, who promptly offered Garfield one of its divisions. He was extremely desirous to accept the position, but was embarrassed by the fact that he had, a year before, been elected to Congress and the time when he must take his seat

was drawing near. He preferred to remain in the military service, and had within his own breast the largest confidence of success in the wider field which his new rank opened to him. Balancing the arguments on the one side and the other, anxious to determine what was for the best, desirous, above all things, to do his patriotic duty, he was decisively influenced by the advice of President Lincoln and Secretary Stanton, both of whom assured him that he could, at that time, be of special value in the House of Representatives. He resigned his commission of major-general on December 5, 1863, and took his seat in the House of Representatives on the seventh. He had served two years and four months in the army, and had just completed his thirty-second year.

The Thirty-eighth Congress is pre-eminently entitled in history to the designation of the War Congress. It was elected while the war was flagrant, and every member was chosen upon the issues involved in the continuance of the struggle. The Thirty-seventh Congress had, indeed, legislated to a large extent on war measures, but it was chosen before anyone believed that secession of the States would be actually attempted. The magnitude of the work which fell upon its successor was unprecedented, both in respect to the vast sums of money raised for the support of the army and navy, and of the new and extraordinary powers of legislation which it was forced to exercise. Only twenty-four States were represented, and one hundred and eighty-two members were upon its roll. Among these were many distinguished party leaders on both sides, veterans in the public service with established reputations for ability and with that skill which comes only from parliamentary experience. Into this assemblage of men Garfield entered without special preparation, and it might almost be said unexpectedly. The question of taking command of a division of troops under General Thomas, or taking his seat in Congress, was kept open till the last moment; so late, indeed, that the resignation of his military commission and his appearance in the House were almost contemporaneous. He wore the uniform of a major-general of the United States army on Saturday, and on Monday, in civilian's dress, he answered to the roll-call as a representative in Congress from the State of Ohio.

He was especially fortunate in the constituency which elected

m. Descended almost entirely from New England stock, the men of the Ashtabula district were intensely radical in all questions relating to human rights. Well educated, thrifty, thoroughly intelligent in affairs, acutely discerning of character, not quick to bestow confidence, and slow to withdraw it, they were once the most helpful and most exacting of supporters. Their unflinching trust in men in whom they have once confided is illustrated by the unparalleled fact that Elisha Whittlesey, Joshua R. Suddings, and James A. Garfield represented the district for twenty-four years.

There is no test of man's ability in any department of public life more severe than service in the House of Representatives; there is no place where so little deference is paid to reputation previously acquired or to eminence won outside; no place where so little consideration is shown for the feelings or failures of beginners. What a man gains in the House he gains by sheer force of his own character, and if he loses and falls back he must expect no mercy and will receive no sympathy. It is a field in which the survival of the strongest is the recognized rule and where no pretence can deceive and no glamour can mislead. The real man is discovered, his worth is impartially weighed, his rank is irreversibly decreed.

With possibly a single exception, Garfield was the youngest member of the House when he entered, and he was but seven years from his college graduation. But he had not been in his seat sixty days before his ability was recognized and his place conceded. He stepped to the front with the confidence of one who belonged there. The House was crowded with strong men of both parties; nineteen of them have since been transferred to the Senate, and many of them have served with distinction in the gubernatorial chairs of their respective States and in foreign missions of great consequence; but among them all none grew so rapidly, none so firmly, as Garfield. As is said by a revelyan of his parliamentary hero, Garfield succeeded "because all the world in concert could not have kept him in the background, and because when once in the front he played his part with a prompt intrepidity and a commanding ease that were at the outward symptoms of the immense reserves of energy on which it was in his power to draw." Indeed, the apparently reserved force which Garfield possessed was one of his great char-

acteristics. He never did so well but that it seemed he could easily have done better. He never expended so much strength but that he seemed to be holding additional power to call. This is one of the happiest and rarest distinctions of an effective debater, and often counts for as much in persuading an assembly as the eloquent and elaborate argument.

The great measure of Garfield's fame was filled by his service to the House of Representatives. His military life, illustrated by honorable performance, and rich in promise, was, as he himself felt, prematurely terminated and necessarily incomplete. Speculation as to what he might have done in the field, where the great prizes are so few, cannot be profitable. It is sufficient to say that as a soldier he did his duty bravely; he did it intelligently; he won an enviable fame, and he retired from the service without blot or breath against him. As a lawyer, though admirably equipped for the profession, he can scarcely be said to have entered on its practice. The few efforts that he made at the bar were distinguished by the same high order of talent which he exhibited on every field where he was put to the test, and if a man may be accepted as a competent judge of his own capacities and adaptation, the law was the profession to which Garfield should have devoted himself. But fate ordained it otherwise, and his reputation in history will rest largely upon his service in the House of Representatives. That service was exceptionally long. He was nine times consecutively chosen to the House, an honor enjoyed by not more than six other representatives of the more than five thousand who have been elected from the organization of the government to this hour.

As a parliamentary orator, as a debater on an issue squarely joined, where the position had been chosen and the ground laid out, Garfield must be assigned a high rank. More, perhaps than any man with whom he was associated in public life he gave careful and systematic study to public questions, and he came to every discussion in which he took part with elaborate and complete preparation. He was a steady and indefatigable worker. Those who imagine that talent or genius can supply the place or achieve the results of labor will find no encouragement in Garfield's life. In preliminary work he was apt, rapid and skilful. He possessed in a high degree the power of readily absorbing ideas and facts, and like Dr. Johnson, had the art of getting from

a book all that was of value in it by a reading apparently so quick and cursory that it seemed like a mere glance at the table of contents. He was a pre-eminently fair and candid man in debate, took no petty advantage, stooped to no unworthy methods, avoided personal allusions, rarely appealed to prejudice, did not seek to inflame passion. He had a quicker eye for the strong point of his adversary than for his weak point, and on his own side he so marshalled his weighty arguments as to make his hearers forget any possible lack in the complete strength of his position. He had a habit of stating his opponent's side with such amplitude of fairness and such liberality of concession that his followers often complained that he was giving his case away. But never in his prolonged participations in the proceedings of the House did he give his case away or fail in the judgment of competent and impartial listeners to gain the mastery.

These characteristics which marked Garfield as a great debater, did not, however, make him a great parliamentary leader. A parliamentary leader, as that term is understood wherever free representative government exists, is necessarily and very strictly the organ of his party. An ardent American defined the instinctive warmth of patriotism when he offered the toast, "Our country always right; but right or wrong, our country." The parliamentary leader who has a body of followers that will do and dare and die for the cause is one who believes his party always right, but, right or wrong, is for his party. No more important or exacting duty devolves upon him than the selection of the field and the time of the contest. He must know not merely how to strike, but where to strike and when to strike. He often skilfully avoids the strength of his opponent's position and scatters confusion in his ranks by attacking an exposed point, when really the righteousness of the cause and the strength of logical intrenchment are against him. He conquers often both against the light and the heavy battalions; as when young Charles Fox, in the days of his Toryism, carried the House of Commons against justice, against immemorial rights, against his own convictions—if, indeed, at that period Fox had convictions—and in the interest of a corrupt administration, in obedience to a tyrannical sovereign, drove Wilkes from the seat to which the electors of Middlesex had chosen him and installed Luttrell in defiance, not merely of law, but of public decency. For an achievement

of that kind, Garfield was disqualified—disqualified by the texture of his mind, by the honesty of his heart, by his conscience, and by every instinct and aspiration of his nature.

The three most distinguished parliamentary leaders hitherto developed in this country are Mr. Clay, Mr. Douglas, and Mr. Thaddeus Stevens. Each was a man of consummate ability, of great earnestness, of intense personality, differing widely each from the others, and yet with a signal trait in common—the power to command. In the “give and take” of daily discussion; in the art of controlling and consolidating reluctant and refractory followers; in the skill to overcome all forms of opposition, and to meet with competency and courage the varying phases of unlooked-for assault or unsuspected defection, it would be difficult to rank with these a fourth name in all our Congressional history. But of these Mr. Clay was the greatest. It would, perhaps be impossible to find in the parliamentary annals of the world a parallel to Mr. Clay, in 1841, when at sixty-four years of age he took the control of the Whig party from the President, who had received their suffrages, against the power of Webster in the Cabinet, against the eloquence of Choate in the Senate, against the Herculean efforts of Caleb Cushing and Henry A. Wise in the House. In unshared leadership, in the pride and plenitude of power he hurled against John Tyler with deepest scorn the mass of that conquering column which had swept over the land in 1840, and drove his administration to seek shelter behind the lines of his political foes. Mr. Douglas achieved a victory scarcely less wonderful when, in 1854, against the secret desires of a strong administration, against the wise counsel of the older chiefs, against the conservative instincts and even the moral sense of the country, he forced a reluctant Congress into a repeal of the Missouri Compromise. Mr. Thaddeus Stevens, in his contests from 1865 to 1868, actually advanced his parliamentary leadership until Congress tied the hands of the President and governed the country by its own will, leaving only perfunctory duties to be discharged by the executive. With two hundred millions of patronage in his hands at the opening of the contest, aided by the active force of Seward in the Cabinet, and the moral power of Chase on the bench, Andrew Johnson could not command the support of one-third in either House against the parliamentary uprising of which Thaddeus Stevens was the animating spirit and the unquestioned leader.

From these three great men Garfield differed radically; differed in the quality of his mind, in temperament, in the form and phrase of ambition. He could not do what they did, but he could do what they could not, and in the breadth of his Congressional work he left that which will longer exert a potential influence among men, and which, measured by the severe test of posthumous criticism, will secure a more enduring and more enviable fame.

Those unfamiliar with Garfield's industry, and ignorant of the details of his work, may in some degree measure them by the annals of Congress. No one of the generation of public men to which he belonged has contributed so much that will be valuable for future reference. His speeches are numerous, many of them brilliant, all of them well studied, carefully phrased, and exhaustive of the subject under consideration. Collected from the scattered pages of ninety royal octavo volumes of the "Congressional Record," they would present an invaluable compendium of the political history of the most important era through which the national government has ever passed. When the history of this period shall be impartially written, when war legislation, measures of reconstruction, protection of human rights, amendments to the constitution, maintenance of public credit, steps toward specie resumption, true theories of revenue may be reviewed, unsurrounded by prejudice and disconnected from partisanship, the speeches of Garfield will be estimated at their true value and will be found to comprise a vast magazine of fact and argument, of clear analysis and sound conclusion. Indeed, if no other authority were accessible, his speeches in the House of Representatives, from December, 1863, to June, 1880, would give a well-connected history and complete defence of the important legislation of the seventeen eventful years that constitute his parliamentary life. Far beyond that, his speeches would be found to forecast many great measures to be completed—measures which he knew were beyond the public opinion of the hour, but which he confidently believed would secure popular approval within the period of his own lifetime, and by the aid of his own efforts.

Differing, as Garfield does, from the brilliant parliamentary leaders, it is not easy to find his counterpart anywhere in the record of American public life. He perhaps more nearly resem-

bles Mr. Seward in his supreme faith in the all-conquering power of a principle. He had the love of learning and the patient industry of investigation to which John Quincy Adams owes his prominence and his presidency. He had some of those ponderous elements of mind which distinguished Mr. Webster, and which indeed, in all our public life, have left the great Massachusetts Senator without an intellectual peer.

In English parliamentary history, as in our own, the leaders in the House of Commons present points of essential difference from Garfield. But some of his methods recall the best features in the strong, independent course of Sir Robert Peel, and striking resemblances are discernible in that most promising of conservatives, who died too early for his country and his fame, the Lord George Bentinck. He had all of Burke's love for the sublime and the beautiful, with, possibly, something of his superabundance, and in his faith and magnanimity, in his power of statement, in his subtle analysis, in his faultless logic, in his love of literature, in his wealth and world of illustration, one is reminded of that great English statesman of to-day, who, confronted with obstacles that would daunt any but the dauntless, reviled by those whom he would relieve as bitterly as by those whose supposed rights he is forced to invade, still labors with serene courage for the amelioration of Ireland and for the honor of the English name.

Garfield's nomination to the presidency, while not predicted or anticipated, was not a surprise to the country. His prominence in Congress, his solid qualities, his wide reputation, strengthened by his then recent election as Senator from Ohio, kept him in the public eye as a man occupying the very highest rank among those entitled to be called statesmen. It was not mere chance that brought him this high honor. "We must," says Mr. Emerson, "reckon success a constitutional trait. If Eric is in robust health, and has slept well and is at the top of his condition, and thirty years old at his departure from Greenland, he will steer west and his ships will reach Newfoundland. But take Eric out and put in a stronger and bolder man and the ships will sail six hundred, one thousand, fifteen hundred miles farther and reach Labrador and New England. There is no chance in results."

As a candidate Garfield steadily grew in public favor. He was met with a storm of detraction at the very hour of his nomi-

nation, and it continued with increasing volume and momentum until the close of his victorious campaign!

“ No might nor greatness in mortality
Can censure 'scape; backwounding calumny
The whitest virtue strikes. What king so strong
Can tie the gall up in the slanderous tongue? ”

Under it all he was calm, strong, and confident; never lost his self-possession, did no unwise act, spoke no hasty or ill-considered word. Indeed, nothing in his whole life is more remarkable or more creditable than his bearing through those five full months of vituperation—a prolonged agony of trial to a sensitive man, a constant and cruel draft upon the powers of moral endurance. The great mass of these unjust imputations passed unnoticed, and, with the general *débris* of the campaign, fell into oblivion. But in a few instances the iron entered his soul and he dies with the injury unforgotten if not unforgiven.

One aspect of Garfield's candidacy was unprecedented. Never before in the history of partisan contests in this country had a successful presidential candidate spoken freely on passing events and current issues. To attempt anything of the kind seemed novel, rash, and even desperate. The older class of voters recalled the unfortunate Alabama letter, in which Mr. Clay was supposed to have signed his political death-warrant. They remembered also the hot-tempered effusion by which General Scott lost a large share of his popularity before his nomination, and the unfortunate speeches which rapidly consumed the remainder. The younger voters had seen Mr. Greeley in a series of vigorous and original addresses preparing the pathway for his own defeat. Unmindful of these warnings, unheeding the advice of friends, Garfield spoke to large crowds as he journeyed to and from New York in August, to a great multitude in that city, to delegations and to deputations of every kind that called at Mentor during the summer and autumn. With innumerable critics, watchful and eager to catch a phrase that might be turned into odium or ridicule, or a sentence that might be distorted to his own or his party's injury, Garfield did not trip or halt in any one of his seventy speeches. This seems all the more remarkable when it is remembered that he did not write what he said, and yet spoke with such logical consecutiveness of thought and such

admirable precision of phrase as to defy the accident of misreport and the malignity of misrepresentation.

In the beginning of his presidential life Garfield's experience did not yield him pleasure or satisfaction. The duties that engrossed so large a portion of the President's time were distasteful to him, and were unfavorably contrasted with his legislative work. "I have been dealing all these years with ideas," he impatiently exclaimed one day, "and here I am dealing only with persons. I have been hitherto treating of the fundamental principles of government, and here I am considering all day whether A or B shall be appointed to this or that office." He was earnestly seeking some practical way of correcting the evils arising from the distribution of overgrown and unwieldy patronage—evils always appreciated and often discussed by him, but whose magnitude had been more deeply impressed upon his mind since his accession to the presidency. Had he lived, a comprehensive improvement in the mode of appointment and in the tenure of office would have been proposed by him, and, with the aid of Congress, no doubt perfected.

But, while many of the executive duties were not grateful to him he was assiduous and conscientious in their discharge. From the very outset he exhibited administrative talent of high order. He grasped the helm of office with the hand of master. In this respect, indeed, he constantly surprised many who were most intimately associated with him in the government, and especially those who had feared that he might be lacking in the executive faculty. His disposition of business was orderly and rapid. His power of analysis and his skill in classification enabled him to despatch a vast mass of detail with singular promptness and ease. His cabinet meetings were admirably conducted. His clear presentation of official subjects, his well-considered suggestion of topics on which discussion was invited, his quick decision when all had been heard, combined to show a thoroughness of mental training as rare as his natural ability, and his facile adaptation to a new and enlarged field of labor.

With perfect comprehension of all the inheritances of the war, with a cool calculation of the obstacles in his way, impelled always by a generous enthusiasm, Garfield conceived that much might be done by his administration towards restoring harmony

to go South and speak to the people. As early as April he had ineffectually endeavored to arrange for a trip to Nashville, whither he had been cordially invited, and he was again disappointed a few weeks later to find that he could not go to South Carolina to attend the centennial celebration of the victory of Cowpens. But for the autumn he definitely counted on being present at the three memorable assemblies in the South, the celebration at Yorktown, the opening of the Cotton Exposition at Atlanta, and the meeting of the Army of the Cumberland at Chattanooga. He was already turning over in his mind his address for each occasion, and the three taken together, he said to a friend, gave him the exact scope and verge which he needed. At Yorktown he would have before him the association of a hundred years which bound the South and the North in the sacred memory of a common danger and a common victory. At Atlanta he would present the material interests and the industrial development which appealed to the thrift and independence of every household, and which should unite the two sections by the instinct of self-interest and self-defence. At Chattanooga he would revive memories of the war to show that after all its disaster and all its suffering the country was stronger and greater, the Union rendered indissoluble, and the future, through the agony and blood of one generation, made brighter and better for it.

Garfield's ambition for the success of his administration was high. With strong caution and conservatism in his nature, he was in no danger of attempting rash experiments or of resorting to the empiricism of statesmanship. But he believed that renewed and closer attention should be given to questions affecting the material interests and commercial prospects of fifty millions of people. He believed that our continental relations, extensive and undeveloped as they are, involved responsibility and could be cultivated into profitable friendship or be abandoned to harmful indifference or lasting enmity. He believed with equal confidence that an essential forerunner to a new era of national progress must be a feeling of contentment in every section of the Union and a generous belief that the benefits and burdens of government would be common to all. Himself a conspicuous illustration of what ability and ambition may do under republican institutions, he loved his country with a pas-

sion of patriotic devotion, and every waking thought was given to her advancement. He was an American in all his aspirations, and he looked to the destiny and influence of the United States with the philosophic composure of Jefferson and the demonstrative confidence of John Adams.

The political events which disturbed the President's serenity for many weeks before that fatal day in July, form an important chapter in his career, and, in his own judgment, involved questions of principle and right which are vitally essential to the constitutional administration of the Federal Government. It would be out of place here and now to speak the language of controversy, but the events referred to, however they may continue to be a source of contention to others, have become, as far as Garfield is concerned, as much a matter of history as his heroism at Chickamauga or his illustrious service in the House. Detail is not needful, and personal antagonism shall not be rekindled by any word uttered to-day. The motives of those opposing him are not to be here adversely interpreted nor their course harshly characterized. But of the dead President this is to be said, and said because his own speech is forever silenced and can be no more heard except through the fidelity and the love of surviving friends. From the beginning to the end of the controversy he so much deplored, the President was never for one moment actuated by any motive of gain to himself or of loss to others. Least of all men did he harbor revenge, rarely did he even show resentment, and malice was not in his nature. He was congenially employed only in the exchange of good offices and the doing of kindly deeds.

There was not an hour, from the beginning of the trouble till the fatal shot entered his body, when the President would not gladly, for the sake of restoring harmony, have retracted any step he had taken if such retraction had merely involved consequences personal to himself. The pride of consistency, or any supposed sense of humiliation that might result from surrendering his position, had not a feather's weight with him. No man was ever less subject to such influences from within or from without. But after the most anxious deliberation and the coolest survey of all the circumstances, he solemnly believed that the true prerogatives of the Executive were involved in the issue which had been raised and that he would be unfaithful to

his supreme obligation if he failed to maintain, in all their vigor, the constitutional rights and dignities of his great office. He believed this in all the convictions of conscience when in sound and vigorous health, and he believed it in his suffering and prostration in the last conscious thought which his wearied mind bestowed on the transitory struggles of life.

More than this need not be said. Less than this could not be said. Justice to the dead, the highest obligation that devolves upon the living, demands the declaration that in all the bearings of the subject, actual or possible, the President was content in his mind, justified in his conscience, immovable in his conclusions.

The religious element in Garfield's character was deep and earnest. In his early youth he espoused the faith of the Disciples, a sect of that great Baptist communion which in different ecclesiastical establishments is so numerous and so influential throughout all parts of the United States. But the broadening tendency of his mind and his active spirit of inquiry were early apparent, and carried him beyond the dogmas of sect and the restraints of association. In selecting a college in which to continue his education he rejected Bethany, though presided over by Alexander Campbell, the greatest preacher of his church. His reasons were characteristic: First, that Bethany leaned too heavily toward slavery; and, second, that being himself a Disciple, and the son of Disciple parents, he had little acquaintance with people of other beliefs, and he thought it would make him more liberal, quoting his own words, both in his religious and general views, to go into a new circle and be under new influences.

The liberal tendency which he had anticipated as the result of wider culture was fully realized. He was emancipated from mere sectarian belief, and with eager interest pushed his investigations in the direction of modern progressive thought. He followed with quickening steps in the paths of exploration and speculation so fearlessly trodden by Darwin, by Huxley, by Tyndall, and by other living scientists of the radical and advanced type. His own church, binding its disciples by no formulated creed, but accepting the Old and New Testaments as the word of God, with unbiassed liberality of private interpretation, favored, if it did not stimulate, the spirit of investigation.

Is members profess with sincerity, and profess only, to be of one mind and one faith with those who immediately followed the Master and who were first called Christians at Antioch.

But however high Garfield reasoned of "fixed fate, free-will, foreknowledge absolute," he was never separated from the Church of the Disciples, in his affections and in his associations. For him it held the ark of the Covenant. To him it was the gate of heaven. The world of religious belief is full of solecisms and contradictions. A philosophic observer declares that many by the thousand will die in defence of a creed whose doctrines they do not comprehend and whose tenets they habitually violate. It is equally true that men by the thousand will cling to church organizations with instinctive and undenyng fidelity when their belief in maturer years is radically different from that which inspired them as neophytes.

But after this range of speculation and this latitude of doubt Garfield came back always with freshness and delight to the simpler instincts of religious faith, which, earliest implanted, longest survive. Not many weeks before his assassination, walking on the banks of the Potomac with a friend, and conversing on those topics of personal religion concerning which noble natures have unconquerable reserve, he said that he found the Lord's prayer and the simple petitions learned in infancy infinitely restful to him, not merely in their stated repetition but in their casual and frequent recall as he went about the duties of life. Certain texts of scripture had a very strong hold on his memory and heart. He heard, while in Edinburgh some years ago, an eminent Scotch preacher, who prefaced his sermon with reading the eighth chapter of the Epistle to the Romans, which book had been the subject of careful study with Garfield during his religious life. He was greatly impressed by the eloquence of the preacher and declared that it had imparted a new and deeper meaning to the majestic utterances of Saint Paul. He referred often in after-years to the memorial service, and dwelt with exultation of feeling upon the radiant promise and the assured hope with which the great Apostle to the Gentiles was "persuaded that neither death, nor life, nor principalities, nor powers, nor things present, nor things to come, nor height, nor depth, nor any other creature, shall be able to separate us from the love of God, which is in Christ Jesus our Lord."

The crowning characteristic of Garfield's religious opinions, as, indeed, of all his opinions, was his liberality. In all things he had charity. Tolerance was of his nature. He respected in others the qualities which he possessed himself—sincerity of conviction and frankness of expression. With him inquiry was not so much what a man believes, but does he believe it? The lines of his friendship and his confidence encircled men of every creed and men of no creed, and, to the end of his life, on his ever-lengthening list of friends were to be found the names of a pious Catholic priest and an honest-minded and generous-hearted freethinker.

On the morning of Saturday, July 2, the President was a contented and happy man—not in an ordinary degree, but joyfully, almost boyishly happy. On his way to the railroad station, to which he drove slowly, in conscious enjoyment of the beautiful morning, with an unwonted sense of leisure and a keen anticipation of pleasure, his talk was all in the grateful and gratulatory vein. He felt that, after four months of trial, his administration was strong in its grasp of affairs, strong in popular favor, and destined to grow stronger; that grave difficulties confronting him at his inauguration had been safely passed; that troubles lay behind him, and not before him; that he was soon to meet the wife whom he loved, now recovering from an illness which had but lately disquieted and at times almost unnerved him; that he was going to his Alma Mater to renew the most cherished associations of his young manhood, and to exchange greetings with those whose deepening interest had followed every step of his upward progress, from the day he entered upon his college course until he had attained the loftiest elevation in the gift of his countrymen.

Surely, if happiness can ever come from the honors or triumphs of this world, on that quiet July morning James A. Garfield may well have been a happy man. No foreboding of evil haunted him; no slightest premonition of danger clouded his sky. His terrible fate was upon him in an instant. One moment he stood erect, strong, confident in the years stretching peacefully out before him. The next he lay wounded, bleeding, helpless, doomed to weary weeks of torture, to silence and the grave.

Great in life, he was surpassingly great in death. For no

cause, in the very frenzy of wantonness and wickedness, by the red hand of murder, he was thrust from the full tide of this world's interest, from its hopes, its aspirations, its victories, into the visible presence of death—and he did not quail. Not alone for one short moment in which, stunned and dazed, he could give up life, hardly aware of its relinquishment, but through days of deadly languor, through weeks of agony, that was not less agony because silently borne, with clear sight and calm courage he looked into his open grave. What blight and ruin met his anguished eyes, whose lips may tell what brilliant, broken plans, what baffled, high ambitions, what sundering of strong, warm, manhood's friendship, what bitter rending of sweet household ties! Behind him a proud, expectant nation, a great host of sustaining friends, a cherished and happy mother, wearing the full rich honors of her early toil and tears; the wife of his youth, whose whole life lay in his; the little boys not yet emerged from childhood's days of frolic; the fair, young daughter; the sturdy sons just springing into closest companionship, claiming every day and every day rewarding a father's love and care; and in his heart the eager, rejoicing power to meet all demands. And his soul was not shaken. His countrymen were thrilled with instant, profound, and universal sympathy. Masterful in his mortal weakness, he became the centre of a nation's love, enshrined in the prayers of a world. But all the love and all the sympathy could not share with him his suffering. He trod the wine-press alone. With unfaltering front he faced death. With unfailing tenderness he took leave of life. Above the demoniac hiss of the assassin's bullet he heard the voice of God. With simple resignation he bowed to the divine decree.

As the end drew near, his early craving for the sea returned. The stately mansion of power had been to him the wearisome hospital of pain, and he begged to be taken from his prison walls, from its oppressive, stifling air, from its homelessness and its hopelessness. Gently, silently, the love a great people bore the pale sufferer to the longed-for healing of the sea, to live or to die, as God should will, within sight of the heaving billows, within sound of its manifold voices. With a wan, fevered face, tenderly lifted to the cooling breeze, he looked out wistfully upon the ocean's changing wonders; on its far sails; on its restless

waves, rolling shoreward to break and die beneath the noonday sun; on the red clouds of evening, arching low to the horizon; on the serene and shining pathway of the stars. Let us think that his dying eyes read a mystic meaning which only the rapt and parting soul may know. Let us believe that in the silence of the receding world he heard the great waves breaking on a farther shore and felt already upon his wasted brow the breath of the eternal morning.

JAMES PROCTOR KNOTT

James Proctor Knott was born near Lebanon, Marion County, Kentucky, August 29, 1830. The family removed shortly after his birth to Shelbyville, where he received his first education. He began the study of law at the age of sixteen and four years later went to Memphis, Missouri, to accept an appointment in the county clerk's office. He was admitted to the bar at the age of twenty-one. Elected to the Legislature in 1858, he was soon made chairman of the judiciary committee, and, in 1860, was appointed Attorney-General.

At the beginning of the Civil War Knott refused to take the test oath and was debarred from practice. He soon afterwards removed to Lebanon, in Kentucky, and was elected to Congress in 1867. His first speech was against the constitutionality of the test oath in its applicability to members of Congress. His "Duluth" speech, delivered in opposition to a bill for building a railroad to Duluth, Minn., with government money, gave him a reputation as a humorist. Knott served again in Congress from 1875 to 1883 and was repeatedly appointed chairman of the judiciary committee. He declined another congressional renomination and was elected Governor of Kentucky in 1883.

Knott was a delegate to the Kentucky constitutional convention in 1891. Of late years he has been professor of law and dean of the law faculty at Centre College, Danville, Kentucky.

"The Glories of Duluth" ranks as one of the best humorous speeches ever delivered in Congress. It was laughed at all over the country, and extensively quoted in the public press. Knott, however, suffered the penalty of being classed as a humorist, which practically ended his career in national politics. Thus did his famous speech prove a boomerang. It killed the railroad bill against which his shafts of ridicule were so cleverly directed, but it also killed him politically so far as his ambition as a national statesman was concerned. Congress would not take him seriously thereafter. He was looked upon as the funny man of the House, just because he happened to have been the author of one humorous speech.

THE GLORIES OF DULUTH

*Delivered in the House of Representatives, January 27, 1871,
on the St. Croix and Bayfield Railroad Bill*

MR. SPEAKER: If I could be actuated by any conceivable inducement to betray the sacred trust reposed in me by those to whose generous confidence I am indebted for the honor of a seat on this floor; if I could be influenced by any possible consideration to become instrumental in giving away, in violation of their known wishes, any portion of their interest in the public domain for the mere promotion of any railroad enterprise whatever, I should certainly feel a strong inclination to give this measure my most earnest and hearty support; for I am assured that its success would materially enhance the pecuniary prosperity of some of the most valued friends I have on earth—friends for whose accommodation I would be willing to make almost any sacrifice not involving my personal honor, or my fidelity as the trustee of an express trust. And that fact of itself would be sufficient to countervail almost any objection I might entertain to the passage of this bill, not inspired by an imperative and inexorable sense of public duty.

But, independent of the seductive influences of private friendship, to which I admit I am, perhaps, as susceptible as any of the gentlemen I see around me, the intrinsic merits of the measure itself are of such an extraordinary character as to commend it most strongly to the favorable consideration of every member of this House—myself not excepted—notwithstanding my constituents, in whose behalf alone I am acting here, would not be benefited by its passage one particle more than they would be by a project to cultivate an orange grove on the bleakest summit of Greenland's icy mountains.

Now, sir, as to those great trunk lines of railway, spanning the

continent from ocean to ocean, I confess my mind has never been fully made up. It is true they may afford some trifling advantages to local traffic, and they may even in time become the channels of a more extended commerce. Yet I have never been thoroughly satisfied either of the necessity or expediency of projects promising such meagre results to the great body of our people. But in regard to the transcendent merits of the gigantic enterprise contemplated in this bill, I never entertained the shadow of a doubt.

Years ago when I first heard that there was somewhere in the vast *terra incognita*, somewhere in the bleak regions of the great Northwest, a stream of water known to the nomadic inhabitants of the neighborhood as the River St. Croix, I became satisfied that the construction of a railroad from that raging torrent to some point in the civilized world was essential to the happiness and prosperity of the American people, if not absolutely indispensable to the perpetuity of republican institutions on this continent. I felt instinctively that the boundless resources of that prolific region of sand and pine shrubbery would never be fully developed without a railroad constructed and equipped at the expense of the government—and perhaps not then. I had an abiding presentiment that some day or other the people of this whole country, irrespective of party affiliations, regardless of sectional prejudices, and “without distinction of race, color, or previous condition of servitude,” would rise in their majesty and demand an outlet for the enormous agricultural productions of those vast and fertile pine barrens, drained in the rainy season by the surging waters of the turbid St. Croix.

These impressions, derived simply and solely from the “eternal fitness of things,” were not only strengthened by the interesting and eloquent debate on this bill, to which I listened with so much pleasure the other day, but intensified, if possible, as I read over this morning the lively colloquy which took place on that occasion, as I find it reported in last Friday’s “Globe.” I will ask the indulgence of the House while I read a few short passages, which are sufficient, in my judgment, to place the merits of the great enterprise contemplated in the measure now under discussion beyond all possible controversy.

The honorable gentleman from Minnesota (Mr. Wilson), who, I believe, is managing this bill, in speaking of the charac-

ter of the country through which this railroad is to pass, says this:

"We want to have the timber brought to us as cheaply as possible. Now, if you tie up the lands in this way so that no title can be obtained to them—for no settler will go on these lands, for he cannot make a living—if you deprive us of the benefit of that timber."

Now, sir, I would not have it by any means inferred from this that the gentleman from Minnesota would insinuate that the people out in this section desire this timber merely for the purpose of fencing up their farms so that their stock may not wander off and die of starvation among the bleak hills of the St. Croix. I read it for no such purpose, sir, and make no such comment on it myself. In corroboration of this statement of the gentleman from Minnesota, I find this testimony given by the honorable gentleman from Wisconsin (Mr. Washburn). Speaking of these same lands, he says:

"Under the bill as amended by my friend from Minnesota, nine-tenths of the land is open to actual settlers at \$2.50 per acre; the remaining one-tenth is pine timbered land that is not fit for settlement, and never will be settled upon; but the timber will be cut off. I admit that it is the most valuable portion of the grant, for most of the grant is not valuable. It is quite valueless; and if you put in this amendment of the gentleman from Indiana, you may as well just kill the bill, for no man and no company will take the grant and build the road."

I simply pause here to ask some gentleman better versed in the science of mathematics than I am to tell me if the timber lands are in fact the most valuable portion of that section of the country, and they would be entirely valueless without the timber that is on them, what the remainder of the land is worth which has no timber upon it at all.

But further on I find a most entertaining and instructive interchange of views between the gentleman from Arkansas (Mr. Rogers), the gentleman from Wisconsin (Mr. Washburn), and the gentleman from Maine (Mr. Peters), upon the subject of pine lands generally, which I will tax the patience of the House to read:

Mr. Rogers: "Will the gentleman allow me to ask him a question?"
Mr. Washburn, of Wisconsin: "Certainly."

Mr. Rogers: "Are these pine lands entirely worthless except for timber?"

Mr. Washburn, of Wisconsin: "They are generally worthless for any other purpose. I am perfectly familiar with that subject. Pine lands are not valuable for purposes of settlement."

Mr. Farnsworth: "They will be after the timber is taken off."

Mr. Washburn, of Wisconsin: "No, sir."

Mr. Rogers: "I want to know the character of these pine lands."

Mr. Washburn, of Wisconsin: "They are generally sandy, pine lands. My friend from the Green Bay district (Mr. Sawyer) is perfectly familiar with this question, and he will bear me out in saying that these pine timber lands are not adapted to settlement."

Mr. Rogers: "The pine lands to which I am accustomed are generally very good. What I want to know is, what is the difference between our pine lands and your pine lands."

Mr. Washburn, of Wisconsin: "The pine timber of Wisconsin generally grows upon barren, sandy land. The gentleman from Indiana (Mr. Peters), who is familiar with pine lands, will, I have no doubt, say that pine timber grows generally upon the most barren lands."

Mr. Peters: "As a general thing pine lands are not worth much for cultivation."

And further on I find this pregnant question, the joint introduction of two gentlemen from Wisconsin:

Mr. Paine: "Does my friend from Indiana suppose that in any large number of years settlers will occupy and cultivate these pine lands?"

Mr. Washburn, of Wisconsin: "Particularly without a railroad?"

Yes, sir, "particularly without a railroad." It will be a long time, after a while, I am afraid, if settlers will go anywhere unless the government builds a railroad for them to go on.

I desire to call attention to only one more statement, which I think sufficient to settle the question. It is one made by a gentleman from Wisconsin (Mr. Paine), who says:

"These lands will be abandoned for the present. It may be that some remote period there will spring up in that region a new kind of agriculture which will cause a demand for these particular lands, and they may then come into use and be valuable for agricultural purposes. But I know, and I cannot help thinking, that my friend from Indiana understands that for the present, and for many years to come, these lands can have no possible value other than that arising from the timber which stands on them."

Now, sir, who, after listening to this emphatic and unequivocal testimony of these intelligent, competent, and able-bodied

nesses, who that is not as incredulous as St. Thomas himself will doubt for a moment that the Goshen of America is to be found in the sandy valleys and upon the pine-clad hills of the St. Croix? Who will have the hardihood to rise in his seat on this floor and assert that, excepting the pine bushes, the entire region would not produce vegetation enough in ten years to fatten a grasshopper? Where is the patriot who is willing that his country shall incur the peril of remaining another day without the amplest railroad connection with such an inexhaustible mine of agricultural wealth? Who will answer for the consequences of abandoning a great and warlike people, in possession of a country like that, to brood over the indifference and neglect of their government? How long would it be before they would take to studying the Declaration of Independence and hatching out the damnable heresy of secession? How long before the grim demon of civil discord would rear again its horrid head in our midst, "gnash loud his iron fangs and shake his crest of bristling bayonets"?

Then, sir, think of the long and painful process of reconstruction that must follow with its concomitant amendments to the constitution; the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth articles. The sixteenth, it is of course understood, is to be appropriated to those blushing damsels who are, day after day, beseeching us to let them vote, hold office, drink cocktails, ride a-straddle, and do everything else the men do. But above all, sir, let me implore you to reflect for a single moment on the deplorable condition of our country in case of a foreign war, with all our ports blockaded, all our cities in a state of siege, the gaunt spectre of famine brooding like a hungry vulture over our starving land; our commissary stores all exhausted, and our famishing armies withering away in the field, a helpless prey to the insatiate demon of hunger; our navy rotting in the docks for want of provisions for our gallant seamen, and we without any railroad communication whatever with the prolific pine thickets of the St. Croix.

Ah, sir, I can well understand why my amiable friends from Pennsylvania (Mr. Myers, Mr. Kelly, and Mr. O'Neill) should have been so earnest in their support of this bill the other day, and if their honorable colleague, my friend, Mr. Randall, will pardon the remark, I will say I considered his criticism of their

action on that occasion as, not only unjust, but ungenerous. I knew they were looking forward with the far-reaching and enlightened statesmanship to the pitiable condition in which Philadelphia will be left unless speedily supplied with railroad connection in some way or other with this garden spot of the universe. And, besides, sir, this discussion has relieved my mind of a mystery that has weighed upon it like an incubus for years. I could never understand before why there was so much excitement during the last Congress over the acquisition of Alta Verapaz. I could never understand why it was that some of our able statesmen and most disinterested patriots should entertain such dark forebodings of the untold calamities that were to befall our beloved country unless we should take immediate possession of that desirable island. But I see now that they were laboring under the mistaken impression that the government would need the guano to manure the public lands on the St. Croix.

Now, sir, I repeat that I have been satisfied for years that there was any portion of the inhabited globe absolutely in a suffering condition for want of a railroad, it was these teeming pine barrens of the St. Croix. On what particular point of that noble stream such a road should be commenced, I knew was immaterial, and so it seems to have been considered by the draftsman of this bill. It might be up at the spring, or down at the foot-log, or the water-gate, or the fish-dam, or anywhere along the bank, no matter where. But in what direction it should run, or where it should terminate, were always to me mind questions of the most painful perplexity. I could conceive of no place on "God's green earth" in such straitened circumstances for railroad facilities as to be likely to desire willing to accept such a connection. I knew that neither Buffalo field nor Superior City would have it, for they both indignantly spurned the munificence of the government when coupled with such ignominious conditions, and let this very same land grow and die on their hands years and years ago rather than submit to the degradation of a direct communication by railroad with the pine woods of the St. Croix; and I knew that what the enterprising inhabitants of those giant young cities would refuse to take would have few charms for others, whatever their necessities or cupidity might be.

Hence, as I have said, sir, I am utterly at a loss to determine where the terminus of this great and indispensable road should be, until I accidentally overheard some gentleman the other day mention the name of "Duluth." Duluth! The word fell upon my ear with peculiar and indescribable charm, like the gentle murmur of a low fountain stealing forth in the midst of roses, or the soft, sweet, accents of an angel's whisper in the bright, joyous dream of sleeping innocence. Duluth! 'Twas the name for which my soul had panted for years, as the hart panteth for the water brooks. But where was Duluth? Never, in all my limited reading, had my vision been gladdened by seeing the celestial word in print. And I felt a profounder humiliation in my ignorance that its dulcet syllables had never before ravished my delighted ear. I was certain that the draftsmen of this bill had never heard of it, or it would have been designated as one of the termini of this road. I asked my friends about it, but they knew nothing of it. I rushed to the library and examined all the maps I could find. I discovered in one of them a delicate, hairlike line, diverging from the Mississippi near a place marked Prescott, which I suppose was intended to represent the river St. Croix, but I could nowhere find Duluth.

Nevertheless, I was confident it existed somewhere, and that its discovery would constitute the crowning glory of the present century, if not of all modern times. I knew it was bound to exist in the very nature of things; that the symmetry and perfection of our planetary system would be incomplete without it; that the elements of material nature would long since have resolved themselves back into original chaos if there had been such a hiatus in creation as would have resulted from leaving out Duluth. In fact, sir, I was overwhelmed with the conviction that Duluth not only existed somewhere, but that, wherever it was, it was a great and glorious place. I was convinced that the greatest calamity that ever befell the benighted nations of the ancient world was in their having passed away without a knowledge of the actual existence of Duluth; that their fabled Atlantis, never seen, save by the hallowed vision of inspired poetry, was, in fact, but another name for Duluth; that the golden orchard of the Hesperides was but a poetical synonyme for the beer-gardens in the vicinity of Duluth. I was certain that Her-

and with all his geographical research he had never seen Duluth. I knew that if the immortal spirit of Homer could look down from another heaven than that created by his celestial genius upon the long lines of pilgrims from every nation of the earth to the gushing fountain of poesy, it would be the touch of his magic wand—if he could be permitted to hold the vast assemblage of grand and glorious products of the lyric art called into being by his own inspired pen, he would weep tears of bitter anguish that, instead of lavishing the stores of his mighty genius upon the fall of Ilion, it had been his more blessed lot to crystallize in deathless verse the rising glories of Duluth. Yet, sir, had it not been for the kindly furnished me by the legislature of Minnesota, I might have gone down to my obscure and humble grave in the land of despair, because I could nowhere find Duluth. Had it not been my melancholy fate, I have no doubt that with the throbbing pulsation of my breaking heart, with the last faint pulsation of my fleeting breath, I should have whispered: "Duluth is Duluth?"

But thanks to the beneficence of that band of noble angels who have their bright abodes in the far-off regions of Minnesota, just as the agony of my anxiety was about to culminate in the frenzy of despair, this blessed map was placed in my hands; and as I unfolded it a resplendent scene of glory opened before me, such as I imagine burst upon the enraptured visions of the wandering peri through the gates of Paradise. There, there for the first time, my enchanted eyes rested upon the ravishing word, "Duluth."

This map, sir, is intended, as it appears from its title, to illustrate the position of Duluth in the United States; but when men will examine it, I think they will concur with my opinion that it is far too modest in its pretensions. It does not illustrate the position of Duluth in the United States, but exhibits its relations with all created things. It even goes beyond this. It lifts the shadowy veil of futurity and affords a view of the golden prospects of Duluth far along the centuries of ages yet to come.

If gentlemen will examine it, they will find Duluth in the centre of the map, but represented in the centre of concentric circles one hundred miles apart, and some

as much as four thousand miles in diameter, embracing alike, in their tremendous sweep, the fragrant savannas of the sunlit South and the eternal solitudes of snow that mantle the ice-bound North. How these circles were produced is, perhaps, one of the most primordial mysteries that the most skilful paleologist will never be able to explain. But the fact is, sir, Duluth is pre-eminently a central place, for I am told by gentlemen who have been so reckless of their own personal safety as to venture away into those awful regions where Duluth is supposed to be, that it is so exactly in the centre of the visible universe that the sky comes down at precisely the same distance all around it.

I find by reference to this map that Duluth is situated somewhere near the western end of Lake Superior, but as there is no dot or other mark indicating its exact location, I am unable to say whether it is actually confined to any particular spot, or whether "it is just lying around there loose." I really cannot tell whether it is one of those ethereal creations of intellectual frostwork, more intangible than the rose-tinted clouds of a summer sunset; one of those airy exhalations of the speculator's brain, which I am told are ever flitting in the form of towns and cities along those lines of railroad, built with government subsidies, luring the unwary settler as the mirage of the desert lures the famishing traveller on, and ever on, until it fades away in the darkening horizon; or whether it is a real, *bona fide*, substantial city, all "staked off," with the lots marked with their owners' names, like that proud commercial metropolis recently discovered on the desirable shores of San Domingo. But, however that may be, I am satisfied Duluth is there, or thereabout, for I see it stated here on this map that it is exactly thirty-nine hundred and ninety miles from Liverpool, though I have no doubt, for the sake of convenience, it will be moved back ten miles, so as to make the distance an even four thousand.

Then, sir, there is the climate of Duluth, unquestionably the most salubrious and delightful to be found anywhere on the Lord's earth. Now, I have always been under the impression, as I presume other gentlemen have, that in the region around Lake Superior it was cold enough for at least nine months in the year to freeze the smokestack of a locomotive. But I see it represented on this map that Duluth is situated exactly half way between the latitudes of Paris and Venice, so that gentlemen

who have inhaled the exhilarating airs of the one, or basked in the golden sunlight of the other, may see at a glance that Duluth must be a place of untold delights, a terrestrial paradise, favored by the balmy zephyrs of an eternal spring, clothed in the gorgeous sheen of ever-blooming flowers, and vocal with the very melody of nature's choicest songsters. In fact, sir, since I have seen this map, I have no doubt that Byron was vainly endeavoring to convey some faint conception of the delicious charms of Duluth when his poetic soul gushed forth in the following strains of that beautiful rhapsody:

"Know ye the land of the cedar and vine,
Where the flowers ever blossom, the beams ever shine;
Where the light wings of zephyr, oppressed with perfume,
Wax faint o'er the gardens of Gul in her bloom;

"Where the citron and olive are fairest of fruit,
And the voice of the nightingale never is mute;
Where the tints of the earth and lines of the sky,
In color though varied, in beauty may die?"

As to the commercial resources of Duluth, sir, they are simply illimitable and inexhaustible, as is shown by this map. You see it stated here that there is a vast scope of territory, embracing an area of over two million square miles, rich in every element of material wealth and commercial prosperity, all tributary to Duluth. Look at it, sir! [Pointing to the map.] Here are inexhaustible mines of gold; immeasurable veins of silver; penetrable depths of boundless forest; vast coal-measures wide, extended plains of richest pasturage—all, all embraced in this vast territory, which must, in the very nature of things, empty the untold treasures of its commerce into the lap of Duluth.

Look at it, sir! [Pointing to the map.] Do you not see from these broad, brown lines drawn around this immense territory that the enterprising inhabitants of Duluth intend some day to enclose all it in one vast corral, so that its commerce will be bound to go there whether it would or not? And here, sir [pointing to the map], I find within a convenient distance the Esquimaux Indians, which, of all the many accessories to the glory of Duluth, I consider by far the most inestimable. For, sir, I have been told that when the smallpox breaks out among the won-

children of that famous tribe, as it sometimes does, they
 and the finest subjects in the world for the strategical experi-
 ments of any enterprising military hero who desires to improve
 himself in the noble art of war, especially for any valiant lieuten-
 ant-general whose

“Trenchant blade, Toledo trusty,
 For want of fighting has gone rusty,
 And eats into itself for lack
 Of somebody to hew and hack.”

er, the great conflict now raging in the Old World has pre-
 sented a phenomenon in military science unprecedented in the
 annals of mankind—a phenomenon that has reversed all the tra-
 ditions of the past as it has disappointed all the expectations of
 the present. A great and warlike people, renowned alike for
 skill and valor, have been swept away before the triumphant
 advance of an inferior foe, like autumn stubble before a hurri-
 cane of fire. For aught I know the next flash of electric fire
 that shimmers along the ocean cable may tell us that Paris, with
 her fibres quivering with the agony of impotent despair,
 lies beneath the conquering heel of her loathed invader.
 Another moon shall wax and wane, the brightest star in the
 galaxy of nations may fall from the zenith of her glory, never
 to rise again. Ere the modest violets of early spring shall open
 their beauteous eyes, the genius of civilization may chant the
 requiem of the proudest nationality the world has ever
 known, as she scatters her withered and tear-moistened lilies o’er
 the bloody tomb of butchered France. But, sir, I wish to ask
 you honestly and candidly believe that the Dutch would have
 overrun the French in that kind of style if General Sheri-
 dan had not gone over there and told King William and Von
 Blücher how he had managed to whip the Piegan Indians!
 And here, sir, recurring to this map, I find in the immediate
 vicinity of the Piegans “vast herds of buffalo” and “immense
 quantities of rich wheat-lands.”

When the hammer fell. Many cries: “Go on! Go on!”
 The Speaker: “Is there objection to the gentleman from Kentucky
 continuing his remarks? The Chair hears none, the gentleman will
 proceed.”]

I was remarking, sir, upon these vast "wheat-fields," represented on this map in the immediate neighborhood of the buffaloes and the Piegons, and was about to say that the idea of there being these immense wheat-fields in the very heart of a wilderness, hundreds and hundreds of miles beyond the utmost verge of civilization, may appear to some gentlemen as rather incongruous, as rather too great a strain on the "blankets" of veracity. But to my mind there is no difficulty in the matter whatever. The phenomenon is very easily accounted for. It is evident, sir, that the Piegons sowed that wheat there and ploughed it with buffalo bulls. Now, sir, this fortunate combination of buffaloes and Piegons, considering their relative positions to each other and to Duluth, as they are arranged on this map, satisfies me that Duluth is destined to be the beef market of the world.

Here, you will observe [pointing to the map], are the buffaloes, directly between the Piegons and Duluth; and here, right on the road to Duluth, are the Creeks. Now, sir, when the buffaloes are sufficiently fat from grazing on these immense wheat-fields, you see it will be the easiest thing in the world for the Piegons to drive them on down, stay all night with their friends, the Creeks, and go into Duluth in the morning. I think I see them now, sir, a vast herd of buffaloes, with their heads down, their eyes glaring, their nostrils dilated, their tongues out, and their tails curled over their backs, tearing along toward Duluth, with about a thousand Piegons on their grass-bellied ponies, yelling at their heels! On they come! And as they sweep past the Creeks they join in the chase, and away they all go, yelling, bellowing, ripping, and tearing along, amid clouds of dust, until the last buffalo is safely penned in the stockyards of Duluth!

Sir, I might stand here for hours and hours and expatiate with rapture upon the gorgeous prospects of Duluth, as depicted upon this map. But human life is too short and the time of this House far too valuable to allow me to linger longer upon the delightful theme. I think every gentleman on this floor is as well satisfied as I am that Duluth is destined to become the commercial metropolis of the universe, and that this road should be built at once. I am fully persuaded that no patriotic representative of the American people, who has a proper appre-

ciation of the associated glories of Duluth and the St. Croix, will hesitate a moment to say that every able-bodied female in the land between the ages of eighteen and forty-five who is in favor of "women's rights" should be drafted and set to work upon this great work without delay. Nevertheless, sir, it grieves my very soul to be compelled to say that I cannot vote for the grant of lands provided for in this bill.

Ah, sir, you can have no conception of the peignancy of my anguish that I am deprived of that blessed privilege! There are two insuperable obstacles in the way. In the first place, my constituents, for whom I am acting here, have no more interest in this road than they have in the great question of culinary taste now perhaps agitating the public mind of Dominica, as to whether the illustrious commissioners who recently left this capital for that free and enlightened republic would be better fricasseed, boiled, or roasted; and in the second place these lands, which I am asked to give away, alas, are not mine to bestow! My relation to them is simply that of a trustee to an express trust. And shall I ever betray that trust? Never, sir! Rather perish Duluth! Perish the paragon of cities! Rather let the freezing cyclones of the bleak Northwest bury it forever beneath the eddying sands of the raging St. Croix!



ORATION ON FARRAGUT

—

BY

JOSEPH HODGES CHOATE

JOSEPH HODGES CHOATE

Joseph Hodges Choate was born at Salem, Mass., January 24, 1832. By both parents he is descended from colonial stock, the original representative of the family having been John Choate, of Groton Boxford Colchester, England. He began his education at the public school of Salem, thence he passed to Harvard, where he was graduated in 1852. He was graduated from the Cambridge Law School in 1854, and was admitted to the bar in 1855. Shortly afterwards he went to New York and connected himself with several law firms in succession, and finally with that of William M. Evarts, in 1859, which henceforth was known as Evarts, Southway and Choate. Mr. Choate soon proved his superior ability as a trial lawyer. He vindicated the authenticity of the Cypriote antiquities in the trial of *Feuardent versus di Cesnola*, and appeared in many other famous cases.

He combines brilliant eloquence with a remarkable power of concentration and breadth of view. Despite these special qualifications Mr. Choate has never sought public office, although he has always been active in Republican politics. Once he became an independent candidate for a United States senatorship, in 1895, but excepting as president of the New York State Constitutional Convention of 1894, he has never until recently been called away from private life and the work of his profession. In 1899 President McKinley appointed him to succeed John Hay as Ambassador to Great Britain, a post for which he is eminently qualified by his birth, culture, education, and experience. He arrived in London on March 8, 1899, and was warmly received by the press and people of the country.

Choate's polished eloquence and suavity of address have gained for him a wide reputation as a speaker at public celebrations. His speech delivered at the unveiling of the Farragut statue is a stirring eulogy of the dead Admiral.

ORATION ON FARRAGUT

*Delivered at the unveiling of the Saint-Gaudens statue of
Farragut, New York, May 25, 1881*

THE fame of naval heroes has always captivated and charmed the imaginations of men. The romance of the sea that hangs about them, their picturesque and dramatic achievements, the deadly perils that surround them, their loyalty to the flag that floats over them, their triumphs snatched from the jaws of defeat, and death in the hour of victory, inspire a warmer enthusiasm and a livelier sympathy than is awarded to equal deeds on land. Who can read with dry eyes the story of Nelson, in the supreme moment of victory at Trafalgar, dying in the cock-pit of his flagship, embracing his beloved comrade with, "Kiss me, Hardy! Thank God I have done my duty," on his fainting lips, bidding the world good-night, and turning over like a tired child to sleep and wake no more? What American heart has not been touched by that kindred picture of Lawrence, expiring in the cabin of the beaten Chesapeake, with "Don't give up the ship" on his dying lips? What schoolboy has not treasured up in his memory the bloody fight of Paul Jones with the *Serapis*, the gallant exploits of Perry on Lake Erie, of McDonough on Lake Champlain, and the other bright deeds which have illuminated the brief annals of the American navy?

We come together to-day to recall the memory and to crown the statue of one of the dearest of these idols of mankind—of one who has done more for us than all of them combined—of one whose name will ever stir, like a trumpet, the hearts of his grateful countrymen.

In the first year of the century—at the very time when the great English admiral was wearing fresh laurels for winning in defiance of orders the once lost battle of the Baltic, the

bloodiest picture in the book of naval warfare—there was born on a humble farm in the unexplored wilderness of Tennessee a child who was sixty years afterwards to do for America what England's idol had just then done for her—to rescue her in an hour of supreme peril, and to win a renown which should not fade or be dim in comparison with that of the most famous of the sea-kings of the Old World. For though there were many great admirals before Farragut, it will be hard to find one whose life and fortunes combine more of those elements which command the enduring admiration and approval of his fellow-men. He was as good as he was great; as game as he was mild, and as mild as he was game; as skilful as he was successful; as full of human sympathy and kindness as he was of manly wisdom, and as unselfish as he was patriotic. So long as the republic which he served and helped to save shall endure, his memory must be dear to every lover of his country, and so long as this great city continues to be the gateway of the nation and the centre of its commerce, it must preserve and honor his statue, which to-day we dedicate to the coming generations.

To trace the career of Farragut is to go back to the very infancy of the nation. His father, a brave soldier of the Revolution, was not of the Anglo-Saxon race for which we are wont to assert a monopoly of the manly virtues, but of that Spanish race, which in all times has produced good fighters on sea and land. His mother must have been a woman fit to bear and suckle heroes, for his earliest recollection of her was upon the occasion when, axe in hand, in the absence of her husband, she defended her cottage and her helpless brood of little ones against an attack of marauding Indians who were seeking the scalps. Like all heroes then, he was born brave, and got his courage from his father's loins and his mother's milk. The death of the mother and the removal of the father to New Orleans, where he was placed by the government in command of the naval station, introduced the boy to the very scene where, more than half a century afterward, some of the brightest of his proud laurels were to be won, and led him, by a singular providence, to the final choice of a profession at an age when children generally are just beginning their schooling. The father of the renowned Commodore David Porter had

pened to fall ill and die under the roof of Farragut's father, and his illustrious son, whose heart overflowed with gratitude for the hospitable kindness which had welcomed his dying father, announced his intention to adopt a child of that house and to train him up in his own profession.

That happy conjunction of great merit with good fortune which attended the future admiral through his whole life was nowhere more signally marked than in the circumstance which thus threw together the veteran naval commander, already famous and soon to win a world-wide fame for skill and daring and enterprise, and the boy who in his own last years was destined to eclipse the glory of his patron and to enchant the world with still more brilliant exploits.

The influence of such a spirit and character as Porter's on that of a dutiful, ardent, and ambitious boy like Farragut, cannot be overestimated. It was not a mere nominal adoption. Porter took him from his home and became his second father, and with him the boy lived and studied and cruised and fought. Having thus ever before him an example worthy of himself, no wonder that he aspired to place himself, at last, at the head of the profession into which his introduction had been under such auspices! Behold him, then, at the tender age of nine years the happy recipient of a midshipman's warrant in the United States Navy, bearing date December 17, 1810; and two years later, at the breaking out of the war with Great Britain, making his first cruise with his noble patron, who, as Captain Porter, now took command of the *Essex*, whose name he was to render immortal by his achievements under her flag. It was in this severe school of active and important service that Midshipmen Farragut learned, almost in infancy, those first lessons in seamanship and war which he afterwards turned to practical account in wider fields and more dangerous enterprises. His faithful study of all the details of his profession, guided and inspired by that ever-present sense of duty, which was the most marked characteristic of his life, prepared him step by step for any service in the line of that profession which time or chance might happen to bring, and when at last in March, 1814, the gallant little frigate met her fate in that spirited and bloody encounter with the British frigate *Phebe* and the sloop-of-war *Cherub*, off the port of Valparaiso (a con-

test which brought new fame to the American navy as well to all who bore a part in it), the boy of twelve, receiving actual baptism of fire and blood, was found equal to the work of a man. He seems never to have known what fear was. His nerve makes the man, he was already as good as made. He thus describes this first of his great fights in his modest journal:

"During the action, I was like Paddy in the Catharpin. A man on occasions, I performed the duties of captain's aide, quarter-gunner, powder-boy, and in fact did everything required of me. I shall never forget the horrid impression made upon me at the sight of the first man I had ever seen killed. It staggered and sickened me at first, but they soon began to fall around me so fast, that it all appeared like a dream, and produced no effect on my nerves. I can remember well, when I was standing near the captain just abaft the mainmast, a shot came through the waterways and glanced upwards, killing four men who were standing by the side of the gun, taking the last one in the head and scattering his brains on both sides of us. But this awful sight did not affect me half so much as the death of the first poor fellow. I neither thought of nor noticed anything but the working of the guns."

He never was in battle again until forty-eight years afterwards, when he astounded the world by the capture of New Orleans; but who can doubt that that memorable day in the Essex, when her plucky commander fought her against hopeless odds, only lowering his colors when she was already sinking, with all but one of her officers and more than half of her crew on the list of killed and wounded, was a life-long inspiration to his courage and loyalty; that it planted forever in the heart of the boy that starry flag, which as an old man he was to bear, at last, through bloodier conflicts still to final victory.

The traditions of the little American navy of that early day were proud and glorious ones, and well calculated to fire the youthful heart with generous enthusiasm. It had carried off the honors of the war, and on the lakes and on the ocean, skill, pluck and endurance; had coped successfully with the proud flag of England—the undisputed mistress of the seas—arrogant with the prestige of centuries, and fresh from the co-

quest of her ancient rivals. Its successful commanders were recognized as heroes alike by their grateful countrymen and by a generous foe, and furnished examples fit to be followed and imitated by the young and unknown midshipman, whose renown was one day to cast all theirs in the shade. It was neither by lucky accident nor political favor, nor simply by growing old in the service, that Farragut came in time to be the recognized head of his profession. From the first he studied seamanship and the laws of naval warfare as a science, and put his conscience into his work, as well in the least details as in the great principles of the business. So as he rose in rank he grew in power too, and never once was found unequal to any task imposed upon him. Self-reliance appears to have been the great staple of his character. Thrown upon his own exertions from the beginning, buoyed up by no fortune, advanced by no favor, he worked his way to the quarter-deck, and by the single-hearted pursuit of his profession was master of all its resources and ready to perform great deeds, if the day for the great deeds should ever come. Had that protracted and inglorious era of peace and compromise, which began with his early manhood and ended with the election of Lincoln, been continued for another decade, he would have passed into history without fame, but without reproach, as a brave and competent officer, but undistinguished in that bright catalogue of manly virtue and of stainless honor, which forms the muster-roll of the American navy. But when treason reared its ugly head and, by the guns of Fort Sumter, roused from its long slumber the sleeping courage of the nation, to avenge that insulted flag—that flag which from childhood to old age he had borne in honor over every sea and into the ports of every nation—his country found him ready and with his armor on, and found among all her champions no younger heart, no cooler head, no steadier nerve, than in the veteran captain, who brought to her services a natural genius for fighting and a mind stored with the rich experience of a well-spent life. And then, at last, all that half century of patient waiting and of faithful study bore its glorious fruit.

Much as the country owes to Farragut for the matchless services which his brain and courage rendered in the day of her peril, she is still more indebted to him for the unconditional

loyalty of his large and generous heart. Born, bred and married in the South, with no friends and hardly an acquaintance except in the South, his sympathy must all have been with her. "God forbid," he said, "that I should have ever to raise my hand against the South." The approaching outbreak of hostilities found him on waiting orders at his home in Norfolk, surrounded by every influence that could put his loyalty to the test, in the midst of officers of the army and the navy all sworn, like him, to uphold the flag of the republic, but almost to a man meditating treason against it. Could there have been a peaceful separation, could those erring sisters have been permitted, as at least one great Northern patriot then insisted they should be permitted, to depart in peace, he would doubtless have gone with his State, but with a heart broken by the rupture of his country. But when the manifest destiny of America forbade that folly, there was but one course for Farragut, and there is no evidence that his loyalty ever for a moment faltered. Other great and manly hearts, tried by the same ordeal, came to a different issue, and perhaps, history will do them better justice than we can. But now that it is all over, now that a restored Union has made them fellow-citizens once more, we cannot refuse to recognize the manhood with which some of them struggled even to their fall. No candid Northern man can read at this distance of time without emotion the heart-rending letter of General Lee to General Scott resigning his commission and redeeming his sword for Virginia, although history has pronounced it treason; but this we may say, and must say, that Lee and all who followed his example loved their State indeed, but forgot and betrayed their country, while Farragut, when the issue came, knew only his country, loved only his country and meant still to have a country to love. Not a single moment could he hesitate, and when Virginia, who had only a few weeks before elected delegates by a large majority, pledged or instructed to maintain her allegiance, was suddenly and treacherously, as he expressed it, "dragooned out of the Union," he could not sleep another night on the soil of Virginia. At ten o'clock in the morning of April 18, 1861, news came to Norfolk that the ordinance of secession had passed—and Farragut's mind was made up; he announced to his faithful wife that for his part,

come what might, he was going to stick to the flag; and at five o'clock in the afternoon he had packed their carpet-bags and taken the first steamboat for the North. That "Stick to the flag" should be carved on his tombstone and on the pedestals of all his statues as it was stamped upon his soul. "Stick to the flag" shall be his password to posterity, to the latest generations, for he stuck to it when all about him abandoned it. He was

"Faithful found
Among the faithless, faithful only he."

Never was a nation less prepared for naval war than the United States in April, 1861. Forty-two old vessels, many of which were unseaworthy, the remains only of a decrepit peace arrangement, constituted our entire navy; and all at once we had three thousand miles of exposed seacoast to blockade and defend, our own great seaports to protect, rebel cruisers to pursue, and American commerce to maintain, if possible. The last was utterly impossible, the merchant service took refuge under other flags, and our own almost vanished from the seas, where it had so long, so proudly floated. But the same irresistible spirit of loyalty, the same indomitable will to preserve the imperilled union, which brought great armies into the field all equipped, soon created a fleet also, that commanded the respect of the world and placed the United States once more in the front rank of naval powers. The active services of such a man as Farragut could not long be spared, and when that great naval enterprise, the opening of the Mississippi, was planned—an enterprise the like of which had never been attempted before—he was chosen by the Government to lead it, by the advice of his superiors in rank and with the universal approval of the people, on the principle of choosing the best man for the service of the greatest danger; and he accepted it on his favorite maxim that the greatest exposure was the penalty of the highest rank. His experience was vast, but there was no experience that would of itself qualify any man for such a service. It was upon his personal qualities that the country relied. Success was absolutely necessary. The depressing reverses of the first year of the war, the threatened intervention of foreign powers and the growing arrogance of

the Confederacy forbade the possibility of a failure. And all who knew Farragut knew that in his lexicon there was no such word as fail or fall. Happy was the day, therefore, for us all when Farragut, on his own merits, was put in command of by far the most powerful naval expedition that had ever sailed under the American flag, for the most perilous enterprise that any fleet had ever attempted.

The sun would set upon us if we were to undertake to tell this afternoon the story of the capture of New Orleans. The world knows it by heart—how when Farragut gave the signal at two o'clock in the morning the brave Bailey in the Cayuga led the way, and how the great admiral in the Hartford in two short hours carried his wooden fleet in triumph through that storm of lightning from the forts, and scattered and destroyed the whole fleet of rebel gunboats and ironclads, and how it pleased Almighty God, as he wrote at sunrise to his wife, to preserve his life through a fire such as the world had scarcely known. Thus in a single night a great revolution in maritime warfare was accomplished, and a blow struck at the vitals of the Confederacy which made it reel to its centre. New Orleans, the key of the Mississippi, the queen city of the South, was taken never to be lost again, and the opening made for all those great triumphs which soon crowned our arms in the West. But victory found our brave captain as modest and merciful as the conflict had proved him terrible, and history may be searched in vain for greater clemency shown to a hostile city, captured after such a struggle, than that with which the Federal commander, under circumstances of the utmost aggravation and insult, treated New Orleans. But at last he got the chance that his hopeful heart had longed for—to strike that fatal blow at Mobile, which forever sealed up the Confederacy from all intercourse with the outer world and hastened its final dissolution, making hopeless, on its part, any further struggle in the West, while Grant and Sherman and Sheridan and Hancock were dealing its death-blows in Virginia and Georgia.

"You know my creed," he says on the day after his gallant passage of the terrible batteries at Port Hudson. "I never send others in advance where there is a doubt, and being one on whom the country has bestowed its greatest honors, I

thought I ought to take the risks which belong to them, and so I took the lead. I knew the enemy would try to destroy the old flagship, and I determined the best way to prevent that result was to try and hurt them the most."

The battle of Mobile Bay has long since become a favorite topic of history and song. Had not Farragut himself set an example for it at New Orleans, this greatest of all his achievements would have been pronounced impossible by the military world, and its perfect success has brought all mankind to his feet in admiration and homage. As a signal instance of one man's intrepid courage and quick resolve converting disaster and threatened defeat into overwhelming victory, it had no precedent since Nelson at Copenhagen, defying the orders of his superior officer and refusing to obey the signal to retreat, won a triumph that placed his name among the immortals.

When Nelson's lieutenant on the Elephant pointed out to him the signal of recall on the commander-in-chief, the battered hero of the Nile clapped his spyglass with his only hand to his blind eye and exclaimed: "I really do not see any signal. Keep mine for closer battle flying. That's the way to answer such signals. Nail mine to the mast!" and so he went on and won the great day.

When the Brooklyn hesitated among the fatal torpedoes in the terrible jaws of Fort Morgan, at the sight of the Tecumseh exploding and sinking with the brave Craven and his ill-fated hundred in her path, it was one of those critical moments on which the destinies of battle hang.

Napoleon said it was always the quarters of an hour that decided the fate of a battle; but here a single minute was to win or lose the day, for when the Brooklyn began to back, the whole line of Federal ships were giving signs of confusion, while they were in the very mouth of hell itself, the batteries of Fort Morgan making the whole of Mobile Point a living flame. It was the supreme moment of Farragut's life. If he faltered all was lost. If he went on in the torpedo-strewn path of the Tecumseh he might be sailing to his death. It seemed as though Nelson himself were in the maintop of the Hartford. "What's the trouble?" was shouted from the flagship to the Brooklyn. "Torpedoes!" was the reply. "Damn

the torpedoes," said Farragut. "Four bells, Captain Drayton, go ahead full speed." And so he led his fleet to victory.

Van Tromp sailed up and down the British Channel in sight of the coast with a broom at the masthead, in token of his purpose to sweep his hated rivals from the seas. The greatest of English admirals, in his last fight, as he was bearing down upon the enemy, hoisted on his flagship a signal which bore these memorable words: "England expects every man to do his duty"—words which have inspired the courage of Englishmen from that day to this, but it was reserved for Farragut as he was bearing down upon the death-dealing batteries of the rebels to hoist nothing less than himself into the rigging of his flagship, as the living signal of duty done, that the world might see that what England had only expected America had fully realized, and that every man, from the rear-admiral down, was faithful.

The golden days of peace have come at last, as we hope, for many generations. The great armies of the republic have been long since disbanded. Our peerless navy, which at the close of the war might have challenged the combined squadrons of the world to combat has almost ceased to exist. But still we are safe from attack from within and from without. The memory of the heroes is "the cheap defence of the nation, the nurse of manly sentiment and heroic enterprises forever." Our frigates may rot in the harbor. Our ironclads may rust at the dock, but if ever again the flag is in peril, invincible armies will swarm upon the land, and steel-clad squadrons leap forth upon the sea to maintain it. If we only teach our children patriotism as the first duty, and loyalty as the first virtue, America will be safe in the future as in the past. When the War of 1812 broke out she had only six little frigates for her navy, but the valor of her sons eked out her scanty fleet and won for her the freedom of the seas. In all the single engagements of that little war, with one exception, the Americans were victors, and at its close the stars and stripes were saluted with honor in every quarter of the globe. So, when this War of the Rebellion came suddenly upon us, we had a few ancient frigates, a few unseaworthy gunboats; but when it ended our proud and triumphant navy counted seven hundred and sixty vessels-of-war, of which seventy were ironclads. We can a

ways be sure then of fleets and armies enough. But shall we always have a Grant to lead the one and a Farragut to inspire the other? Will our future soldiers and sailors share, as theirs almost to the last man shared, their devotion, their courage and their faith? Yes, on this one condition ; that every American child learn from his cradle, as Farragut learned from his, that his first and last duty is to his country, that to live for her is honor, and to die for her is glory.



THE PLUMED KNIGHT

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BY

ROBERT GREEN INGERSOLL

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1833—1899

Robert Green Ingersoll was born at Dresden, New York, August 1833. His father, a clergyman well known in New York for his broad views and more than ordinary eloquence in the pulpit, removed to Illinois in 1843. Robert, his son, chose the profession of law, and after being admitted to the bar he entered his brother's law offices as partner at Shawneetown. In 1857 Ingersoll removed to Peoria, then a rapidly growing town, and obtained in 1860 the Democratic nomination for Congress for the district, but was defeated. During the war Ingersoll was a strong partisan of the Federal cause and the Union. His military service, on which he entered as Colonel of the Eleventh Illinois Cavalry, was cut short early during the war on his capture by the enemy.

He returned to his law practice and, after having become an adherent of the Republican party, was appointed, in 1866, Attorney-General of Illinois. He was a delegate to several national conventions and gained enduring fame as an orator by the brilliant speech he delivered in support of James G. Blaine's nomination for the presidency in 1876. The designation of "The Plumed Knight" clung to the Maine Senator long after the echoes of the campaign had died away. Ingersoll was engaged as counsel in many cases of national importance, and removed first to Washington and later to New York. He died at his country seat on the Hudson on July 21, 1899.

Ingersoll was one of the foremost orators of his day. Both a forensic debater and as a public speaker and lecturer, his well-served fame has long since spread over his country and beyond. Besides being the author of some prose works, mostly of an agnostic tendency, he has written some verse. In his private life he was the most lovable man, and the charm of his personality exerted a magnetic influence over all with whom he came in contact. Besides being a "born" orator, he was exceptionally witty, and could move his audience to laughter as well as tears.

THE PLUMED KNIGHT

Speech nominating James G. Blaine for President, in the Republican National Convention at Cincinnati, June 15, 1876

MASSACHUSETTS may be satisfied with the loyalty of Benjamin H. Bristow ; so am I, but if any man nominated by this convention cannot carry the State of Massachusetts, I am not satisfied with the loyalty of that State. If the nominee of this convention cannot carry the grand old commonwealth of Massachusetts by seventy-five thousand majority, I would advise them to sell out Faneuil Hall as a Democratic headquarters. I would advise them to take from Bunker Hill that old monument of glory.

The Republicans of the United States demand as their leader in the great contest of 1876 a man of intelligence, a man of integrity, a man of well-known and approved political opinions. They demand a statesman ; they demand a reformer after, as well as before, the election. They demand a politician in the highest, broadest, and best sense—a man of superb moral courage. They demand a man acquainted with public affairs—with the wants of the people—with not only the requirements of the hour, but with the demands of the future. They demand a man broad enough to comprehend the relations of this government to the other nations of the earth. They demand a man well versed in the powers, duties, and prerogatives of each and every department of this government. They demand a man who will sacredly preserve the financial honor of the United States—one who knows enough to know that the national debt must be paid through the prosperity of this people ; one who knows enough to know that all the financial theories in the world cannot redeem a single dollar ; one who knows enough to know that all the money must be made, not by law, but by labor ; one who knows enough to know that the people of the

United States have the industry to make the money and honor to pay it over just as fast as they make it.

The Republicans of the United States demand a man who knows that prosperity and resumption, when they come, must come together; that when they come, they will come hand in hand through the golden harvest fields, hand in hand by the whirling spindles and turning wheels; hand in hand past the open furnace doors; hand in hand by the flaming forges; hand in hand by the chimneys filled with eager fire—greeted and grasped by the countless sons of toil.

This money has to be dug out of the earth. You cannot make it by passing resolutions in a political convention.

The Republicans of the United States want a man who knows that this government should protect every citizen at home and abroad; who knows that any government that will not defend its defenders and protect its protectors is a disgrace to the nation of the world. They demand a man who believes in the eternal separation and divorcement of church and school. They demand a man whose political reputation is spotless as a star; they do not demand that their candidate shall have a certificate of moral character signed by a Confederate Congress. The man who has in full, heaped, and rounded measure, all the splendid qualifications is the present grand and gallant leader of the Republican party—James G. Blaine.

Our country crowned with the vast and marvellous achievements of its first century, asks for a man worthy of the past and prophetic of her future; asks for a man who has the audacity of genius; asks for a man who has the grandest combination of heart, conscience, and brain beneath her flag. Such a man is James G. Blaine.

For the Republican host, led by this intrepid man, there can be no defeat.

This is a grand year; a year filled with recollections of the Revolution, filled with the proud and tender memories of the past, with the sacred legends of liberty; a year in which the spirit of freedom will drink from the fountains of enthusiasm; a year in which the people call for a man who has preserved in Congress what our soldiers won upon the field; a year in which they call for the man who has torn from the throat of treason the tongue of slander—for the man who has snatched the man-

Democracy from the hideous face of Rebellion—for the man who, like an intellectual athlete, has stood in the arena of debate and challenged all comers, and who is still a total stranger to defeat.

Like an armed warrior, like a plumed knight, James G. Blaine marched down the halls of the American Congress and threw his shining lance full and fair against the brazen foreheads of the defamers of his country and the maligners of his honor. For the Republicans to desert this gallant leader now is as though an army should desert their general upon the field of battle.

James G. Blaine is now, and has been for years, the bearer of the sacred standard of the Republican party. I call it sacred, because no human being can stand beneath its folds without becoming and without remaining free.

Gentlemen of the convention, in the name of the great republic, the only republic that ever existed upon the earth; in the name of all her defenders and of all her supporters; in the name of all her soldiers living; in the name of all her soldiers dead upon the field of battle; and in the name of those who perished in the skeleton clutch of famine at Andersonville and Libby, whose suffering he so vividly remembers, Illinois—Illinois nominates for the next President of this country that prince of parliamentarians, that leader of leaders, James G. Blaine.

OUR KIN ACROSS THE SEA

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BY

CHAUNCEY MITCHELL DEPEW

CHAUNCEY MITCHELL DEPEW

The career of Chauncey Depew, at the present writing representing New York in the Senate of the United States at Washington, illustrates to a remarkable degree the versatility of the American temperament and sets the example of a public spirit worthy of emulation by our successful men of affairs. His ancestors were French Huguenots, sturdy patriots of New England, including Roger Sherman, a signer of the Declaration of Independence, and Gabriel Ogden of the Continental Army. It is not surprising, therefore, considering his distinguished ancestry, that he should show the interest in the political questions of the day and the devotion to the natural development of the country which have always marked his course.

He was born in the village of Peekskill, New York, on April 23, 1812, where he spent his childhood and school days; thence he went to Yale University (at that time a college) and was graduated in the class of 1836. After two years' study of the law, he was admitted to the bar in 1838, and in the same year, becoming interested in politics, he was elected to the New York State Convention. The year 1860 found him actively engaged in the presidential campaign for Abraham Lincoln, during which his great powers as an orator were quickly recognized, thus opening the way for his election to the New York Legislature, and subsequently to the important post of Secretary of State.

In 1866 he was retained by the Vanderbilts to act as counsel for the New York and Harlem Railroad, and from this position he rose by successive steps to the presidency of the New York Central Railroad, filling this position until his election in 1899 as United States Senator from New York. During this long period of business activity his interest in his party and the country at large remained unabated. That it happens that his great influence and well-known powers as an orator have always been closely identified with the political events of the country. At the Republican National Convention of 1888 he was the choice of the delegates from the State of New York for President. It would seem that in a life so filled with business and political endeavor there would remain but scant time for exertion in other fields. Senator Depew, however, has the will, and so has found the way to attend to numerous public dinners and other public celebrations, at which his delightful fancy, keen wit, and unusual eloquence of his speeches have placed him in the foremost rank of America's living orators.

Among Senator Depew's important speeches is one which is of great interest at the present time, and one which will grow more valuable as the events with which it deals have become only a memory. His speech, delivered before the Lotus Club of New York soon after the Spanish-American war, sets forth the growth of friendship and sympathy between the United States and England, and expresses in well-rounded periods the gratification of both nations over the *entente cordiale* which had been so long delayed.

OUR KIN ACROSS THE SEA

Delivered at the Lotos Club banquet to Lord Herschel, New York, November 5, 1898

GENTLEMEN: When an American has enjoyed the cordial hospitality of an English home he is ever after craving an opportunity to reciprocate in his own country. He discovers that the traditional icy reserve and insular indifference with which the Englishman is popularly credited are only the shield and armor which protect the inhabitants of the centre and capital of the activities of the Old World from the frauds and fools of the whole world. When once thawed out, our kin across the sea can be as demonstrative and, in their own way, as jocose as the untamed natives of these Western wilds. An eminent medical authority, in a learned essay on heredity and longevity, advanced this theory: That the emigrant from the British Isles to our shores, under the influence of our dry and exciting atmosphere, becomes, in a few generations, abnormally nervous, thin, and dyspeptic. Between forty and fifty he can arrest the speed with which he is hurrying to an untimely grave, if he will move over to England. The climate there will work upon his ancestral tendencies, and he will develop backward to the original type. Instead of his restless spirit reading the epitaph upon his tombstone in the United States, he will be enjoying life in the old country in the seventies and eighties, be taking his daily gospel from the "Times," and, on gouty days, lamenting modern degeneracy. The converse must be equally true, and the Englishman who has passed his climacteric and is afflicted with inertia and adipose, will find in the sunshine and champagne air of America the return of the energy and athletic possibilities of his youth. Thus the two

countries in the exchange, will exhibit a type which, once so past the allotted line of life, in their new environment, will be going on forever. None of us want to quit this earthly sojourn so long as we can retain health and mind. The attractions of the heavenly city are beyond description, but residence there runs through such countless ages that a decade, more or less, before climbing the golden stairs, is a loss of rich experience on this side, and not noticed on the other.

It is a singular fact that the United States has known England for nearly three hundred years, and England has known little about the United States until within the past ten years. Eight years ago Mr. Gladstone asked me about the newspapers in this country. I told him that the press in nearly all of our large cities had from a half to a whole column of European cables daily, and three columns on Sunday, and two-thirds of it was about English affairs. He expressed surprise and pleasure, and great regret that the English press was not equally full of American news. From ten to fifty lines on our market was all the information British readers had about our interests, unless a lynching, a railroad smash-up or a big corporation suddenly gone bankrupt commanded all the space required, and gave a lively picture of our settled habits. English statesmen of all parties have been as well known and understood by our people for a quarter of a century as those of our country, while beyond Lincoln, Grant, and Garfield, the British public never heard of our party leaders and public men. Such is the power and educational value of the press.

With the advent of Smalley, Norman, and others, sending full despatches from the United States to the English newspapers, our press relations have become reciprocal. The American in England is as much in touch each morning with the happenings at home as the Englishman is in America with the affairs of Europe. This daily interchange of information as to the conditions, the situation, the opinions, and the mutual interests of the two countries has been of incalculable benefit in bringing about a better acquaintance and more cordial sentiments between these two great English-speaking nations. The better we know each other, the riper grows our friendship. The publication of Bryce's "American Commonwealth" was the dawn of a clearer understanding and closer

tions. In my school days the boys of the village still played
ee, fi, fow, fum, I smell the blood of an Englishman; dead
alive I will have some."

An East Tennessee Union farmer, coming into Knoxville
the early days of the Civil War, heard of Mason and Slidell,
Confederate commissioners, who were passengers for Eu-
rope on an English merchant vessel, having been taken off by
the Union by an American cruiser and brought back prisoners to
our country, and that Great Britain had demanded their re-
lease. "What?" he said in great astonishment, "Is that
old English machine going yet?" Now, and especially
because of the practical friendship shown to us by England during
our war with Spain, the villagers cheer the *entente cordiale* be-
tween the two countries, and the Tennessee mountaineers and
Rugby colonists join in celebrating the Queen's birthday
on the Fourth of July.

We have been for a hundred years evolving toward the
mutual understanding of each other and the intelligent friend-
ship which existed between the greatest of Americans, George
Washington, and a great Englishman, Lord Shelburne. Shel-
burne, beyond all of his countrymen, appreciated the American
conditions and position in the Revolutionary War, and was the
first of foreigners to form that estimate of Washington, as the
greatest man of the world, which is now universally accepted.
It was for him that Washington sat for a full-length portrait,
which now holds the place of honor in the house of another
great and brilliant English statesman and warm friend of the
United States, Lord Rosebery. On Washington's initiative,
and Shelburne's co-operation, the two countries made their
peace by the Jay Treaty of 1796.

The government of the United States is, and always has
been, a lawyer's government. All but three of our Presidents
were lawyers, and four-fifths of our Cabinet ministers, and a
large majority of both Houses of Congress, have always been
members of the bar. The ambassador who framed and nego-
tiated this treaty was that eminent jurist, John Jay, the first
Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States. In
this treaty, for the first time, I think, among nations, appeared
the principle of the settlement by arbitration of disputes between
nations. Such was the temper of the period, however, one hun-

dred years ago, and such the jealous and hostile feelings between America and England, that it required a long time, all the influence of Washington, to have the treaty ratified by the Senate. Jay was burned in effigy by indignant mobs over our country, and Lord Granville, the British foreign minister, was denounced by the opposition—England—as having been duped by Chief Justice Jay, and the charge was one of the causes which led to the overthrow of the ministry of which he was a member. While that treaty has received little public notice, yet under it many cases which might have led to serious irritation have been settled, and notably, and most significantly of all, the Geneva arbitration of the Alabama claims under the presidency, and with the cordial support of the greatest soldier of our republic, General Grant. The bench and the bar of the United States have always approved and supported the principle of the Jay Treaty.

The common law and the interchangeable decisions of the courts of the United States and Great Britain have been a continuing and refreshing bond of union between the lawyers of the two countries. It was my privilege, in the midst of Venezuelan excitement, to deliver the annual address before the State Bar Association of the State of New York. The subject I chose was "International Arbitration," and as a result of the discussion, this powerful body, with the calmness and judicious candor characteristic of the profession, unanimously adopted a memorial in favor of settling all disputes between Great Britain and the United States by arbitration and in favor of the establishment of an international court of dignity and power. This action received substantially the unanimous approval of the bench and the bar of the United States, and was met with equal warmth by our kin across the sea.

One of the best signs of our times, tending more to peace and humanity, and civilization than even the famous proclamation of the Russian Czar, has been, and is, the warm and increasing friendship between the great electorate—the democracy of Great Britain and the people of the United States. Sir Henry Irving told me, last summer, a story full of significance. He demonstrated that when the people of Great Britain and the people of the United States understood one another, they were in many respects, one people. One of the most brilliant

eloquent platform orators the world has ever known was Henry Ward Beecher. During the time of our Civil War, when the press and the upper classes of Great Britain were largely hostile to us, Beecher went abroad as a popular ambassador from the people of the United States to the people of England. Irving said that when Beecher spoke at Manchester the feeling among the operatives and artisans of the great manufacturing town was that if the North succeeded, the rebellion was put down, and the Union was preserved, in some way the cotton of the Southern States would be diverted, and their employment gone.

We are not unfamiliar with that sort of politics by misrepresentation in the United States. Irving said that at that time he was a young actor in a stock company in Manchester. Having secured a good position in the hall, he saw a maddened mob struggling to get hold of a handsome young man upon the platform, with the evident purpose of tearing him to pieces. The young man, Mr. Beecher, was protected by the leading citizens of Manchester and the police. It was half an hour before the crowd would listen to a word. The first five minutes of Beecher's speech set them wild again, and then Irving thought that Beecher would certainly be dragged from the platform and killed. By the exertions, however, of the gentlemen about the orator, a hearing was finally secured, and Beecher developed in his own masterly way the common language, the literature, and the ties of the two countries, the common origin of their liberty, and the common freedom of their people, the interest which every man had for himself and his children in the perpetuity and strength of free government in the American republic. The first half-hour was silence, the second half-hour was tumultuous applause, the next hour was unanimous and enthusiastic approval, and at the close the crowd insisted upon bearing upon their shoulders and carrying in triumph to his lodgings the orator, whose cause they then understood.

The men of letters who write and speak in the English tongue have always been mutually appreciative, and always friends. It began with the father of American literature, Washington Irving, who was held by the British critic as a second Addison. Longfellow and Hawthorne of a recent period, and Mark

Twain of to-day, find appreciation and applause—find equal recognition and pride on both sides of the Atlantic.

It was not until we became involved in a war with a European power that America appreciated the extent and depth of the feeling of kinship among the English-speaking peoples across the Atlantic. A famous Scotch divine told me that when on the one hand Emperor William had sent his telegram encouraging Kruger in South Africa to fight England, and on the other the Venezuelan message of President Cleveland was interpreted on the part of the United States as a challenge for fight, he preached a sermon to a Scotch congregation. There are no other people so devoted and undemonstrative in the world inside the church as the Scotch Presbyterians. "But," said the preacher, "when I said that under no conditions would the people of Great Britain fight their kin in the United States, and that if there was to be fighting it must all be from the Americans, there was wild applause, but when I said that if the German Emperor moved one step further in the hostile action indicated by his telegram, the British fleet would sweep his vessels from the oceans, and British arms would capture all his colonies inside of sixty days, the congregation rose and gave cheers."

The war with Spain threatened the equilibrium of that delicate instrument known as the European balance of power, an instrument so delicate that it requires eight millions of soldiers and the waters of the globe covered with navies, to keep it from getting out of trim. Every consideration of the association of ambitions in the East impelled the Continental powers to sympathize with Spain. They proposed that all Europe should intervene, as was done in the Turko-Grecian War. Great Britain said: "No; we will take no part in any international action which is hostile to the United States." It was this proposal by the Continental powers that they should intervene and Great Britain remain neutral. The reply of Great Britain was: "In that case England will be on the side of the United States." That ended the subject of interference in our Spanish War. That action promoted the peace of the world. That sentiment, flashed across the ocean, electrified the American people. That position, unanimously approved in Great Britain by the masses and by the classes, received such a recognition

in the United States as only a great and generous people can give for a great and generous friendship. That action sent the current of the blood of English-speaking people flowing in like channels, and was the beginning of the era of good-fellowship which is to have the most marked influence upon the glory of nations and of peoples in the future history of the world.

Our guest, Lord Herschel, typifies that career common to all Americans, and which all Americans delight to honor. He is the architect of his own career, and by the greatest qualities of brain and character has successfully climbed to the highest office by which his country can honor and decorate a lawyer. The mission which brings him to this side is worthy of his great requirements and his broad and catholic judgment. With the irritations and vexations which naturally arise between Canada and ourselves permanently removed, there is no spot on earth where the United States and Great Britain can seriously clash. With our possessions stretching at intervals of two thousand miles for harbors and coaling stations, for six thousand miles across the Pacific, we face the doors of the various gateways of the Orient, closed by the great powers of the world, except Great Britain, and we hail the open door which she offers for the entrance into China and the East for the products of our farms and our factories.

But yesterday there were four great powers governing the world, dividing territories of barbarous or semi-civilized peoples, and ruling the destinies of mankind. They were Great Britain, France, Germany, and Russia. To-day there are five. The last has come into this concert of nations by the unprecedented successes and marvellous victories of its hundred days of war. Two of the five, the United States and Great Britain, with the ties of common language and common law and like liberties, will work together naturally in this international development. They will not be, and they cannot be, bound or limited by a hard and fast alliance, offensive and defensive, like that which marks the Dreibund or the unknown relations between Russia and France. But there are relations, there are ties which are stronger than parchment treaties based upon selfishness, greed, or fear. They are the ties of blood, of language, and of common aims for the loftiest purposes for which peoples work and governments exist.

ADDRESS TO THE PARLIAMENT OF
RELIGIONS

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BY

JAMES, CARDINAL GIBBONS

JAMES, CARDINAL GIBBONS

James, Cardinal Gibbons, was born at Baltimore of Irish parents July 23, 1834. When quite young he returned with his family to the old home in Ireland and remained there till his seventeenth year. On his return to America he entered, after a short mercantile career, Charles College, Maryland, where he was graduated with distinction. To complete his theological studies he next went to St. Mary's College, Baltimore, and was ordained a priest June 30, 1861, in the cathedral of that city.

After several years of parish work he was called by Archbishop Spalding to become his private secretary and was invited to join the Archbishop's episcopal household. During the second plenary council, which was assembled at Baltimore, in 1866, Father Gibbons was made assistant chancellor, a great distinction for so young a priest. Two years later he was consecrated Bishop of Adramytum *in partibus infidelium*, Vicar-Apostolic of North Carolina. He labored much to establish a church there on a firm foundation and, it is said, at one time he had the personal acquaintance of every adult Catholic in his diocese. In October, 1872, he was chosen to fill the vacant see in Richmond, Virginia, and during his five years' incumbency worked with great zeal and manifest success in the interest of his Church. Meantime he had been proposed as the coadjutor of Archbishop Bayley, of Baltimore, who was in failing health, and on May 20, 1877, he was appointed to that office with the right of succession. On the death of the Archbishop, which occurred a few months later, he became his successor. In recognition of his labors in connection with the third plenary council, which was held in Baltimore, in 1886, at which he was appointed president, Archbishop Gibbons was made a Cardinal and visited Rome in the early part of the year 1887. The stand he took in defense of the Knights of Labor organization is sufficiently well known. It suffices to say that the Archbishop laid the whole matter in a satisfactory manner before the Vatican court, where hitherto no very favorable idea had been entertained on the subject of labor organization in America.

Cardinal Gibbons is now one of the prominent men of the country as well as one of the foremost princes of his Church. As an author he is well known by his "Faith of our Fathers" and "Our Christian Heritage," both of which have been, especially among the devotees of his own Church, deservedly popular. The accompanying address delivered at the Parliament of Religions, is filled with his broad and magnanimous spirit and his love for humanity at large.

ADDRESS TO THE PARLIAMENT OF RELIGIONS

Delivered at Chicago, September 14, 1893

WE live and move and have our being in the midst of a civilization which is the legitimate offspring of the Catholic religion. The blessings resulting from our Christian civilization are poured out so regularly and so abundantly on the intellectual, moral, and social world, like the sunlight and the air of heaven and the fruits of the earth, that they have ceased to excite any surprise except in those who visit lands where the religion of Christ is little known. In order to realize adequately our favored situation, we should transport ourselves in spirit to ante-Christian times, and contrast the condition of the pagan world with our own.

Before the advent of Christ the whole world, with the exception of the secluded Roman province of Palestine, was buried in idolatry. Every striking object in nature had its tutelary divinities. Men worshipped the sun and moon and stars of heaven. They worshipped their very passions. They worshipped everything except God, to whom alone divine homage is due. In the words of the apostle of the Gentiles: "They changed the glory of the incorruptible God into the likeness of the corruptible man, and the birds and beasts and creeping things. They worshipped and served the creature rather than the Creator who is blessed forever."

But, at least, the great light for which the prophets had sighed and prayed, and toward which the pagan sages had stretched forth their hands with eager longing, arose and shone unto them "that sat in the darkness and the shadow of death." The truth concerning our Creator, which had hitherto been hidden in Judea, that there it might be sheltered from the world-wide idolatry, was now proclaimed, and in far greater

clearness and fulness into the whole world. Jesus Christ taught all mankind to know one true God—a God existing from eternity to eternity, a God who created all things by his power, who governs all things by his wisdom, and whose superintending Providence watches over the affairs of nature as well as of men, “without whom not even a sparrow falls from the ground.” He proclaimed a God infinitely holy, just, and merciful. This idea of the Deity so consonant to our rational conceptions was in striking contrast with the low and sensual notions which the pagan world had formed of its divinities.

The religion of Christ imparts to us not only a sublime conception of God, but also a rational idea of man and of his relations to his Creator. Before the coming of Christ man was a riddle and a mystery to himself. He knew not whence he came, nor whither he was going. He was groping in the dark. What he knew for certain was that he was passing through a transient phase of existence. The past and the future were enveloped in a mist which the light of philosophy was unable to penetrate. Our Redeemer has dispelled the cloud and enlightened us regarding our origin and destiny and the means of attaining it. He has rescued man from the frightful labyrinth of error in which paganism had involved him.

The gospel of Christ as propounded by the Catholic Church has brought, not only light to the intellect, but comfort to the heart. It has given us “that peace of God which passeth all understanding,” the peace which springs from the conscious possession of truth. It has taught us how to enjoy that triple peace which constitutes true happiness, as far as it is attainable in this life—peace with God by the observance of his commandments, peace with our neighbor by the exercise of charity and justice toward him, and peace with ourselves by repressing our inordinate appetites, and keeping our passions subjected to the law of reason, and our reason illumined and controlled by the law of God.

All other religious systems prior to the advent of Christ were national, like Judaism, or state religions, like paganism. Catholic religion alone is world-wide and cosmopolitan, embracing all races and nations and peoples and tongues.

Christ alone, of all religious founders, had the courage to say to his disciples: “Go, teach all nations.” “Preach

gospel to every creature." "You shall be witness to me in Judea and Samaria, and even to the uttermost bounds of the earth." Be not restrained in your mission by national or state lines. Let my gospel be as free and universal as the air of heaven. "The earth is the Lord's and the fulness thereof." "All mankind are the children of my father and by brethren. I have died for all, and embrace all in my charity. Let the whole human race be your audience, and the world be the theatre of your labors!"

It is this recognition of the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of Christ that has inspired the Catholic Church in her mission of love and benevolence. This is the secret of her all-pervading charity. This idea has been her impelling motive in her work of the social regeneration of mankind. "I behold," she says, "in every human creature a child of God and a brother or a sister of Christ, and therefore I will protect helpless infancy and decrepit old age. I will feed the orphan and nurse the sick. I will strike the shackles from the feet of the slave, and will rescue degraded woman from the moral bondage and degradation to which her own frailty and the passions of the stronger sex had consigned her."

Montesquieu has well said that the religion of Christ, which was instituted to lead men to eternal life, has contributed more than any other institution to promote the temporal and social happiness of mankind. The object of this Parliament of Religions is to present to the thoughtful, earnest, and inquiring minds the respective claims of the various religions, with the view that they would "prove all things, and hold that which is good," by embracing that religion which above all others commends itself to their judgment and conscience. I am not engaged in this search for the truth, for, by the grace of God, I am conscious that I have found it, and instead of hiding this treasure in my own breast, I long to share it with others, especially as I am none the poorer in making others the richer.

But, for my part, were I occupied in this investigation, much as I would be drawn toward the Catholic Church by her admirable unity of faith which binds together in common worship two hundred and fifty million souls, much as I would be attracted toward her by her sublime moral code, by her world-wide catholicity and by that unbroken chain of apostolic succession

which connects her indissolubly with apostolic times, I be drawn still more forcibly toward her by that wonderful tem of organized benevolence which she has established the alleviation and comfort of suffering humanity.

Let us briefly review what the Catholic Church has done for the elevation and betterment of humanity:

1. The Catholic Church has purified society in its very foundation, which is the marriage bond. She has invariably claimed the unity and sanctity and indissolubility of the marriage tie by saying with her founder that: "What God hath joined together, let no man put asunder." Wives and men never forget that the inviolability of the marriage contract is the palladium of your womanly dignity and of your Christian liberty. And if you are no longer the slaves of man and a toy of his caprice, like the wives of Asiatic countries, but peers and partners of your husbands; if you are no longer tenants at will, like the wives of pagan Greece and Rome, but the mistresses of your households; if you are no longer confronted by uprising rivals, like Mohammedan and Mahomedan wives, but are the queens of domestic kingdoms, you are indebted for this priceless boon to the ancient Church, and particularly to the Roman pontiffs who inflexibly upheld the sacredness of the nuptial bond against the arbitrary power of kings, the lust of nobles, and the lax and pernicious corruption of civil governments.

2. The Catholic religion has proclaimed the sanctity of human life as soon as the body is animated with the vital spark. Infanticide was a dark stain on pagan civilization. It was universal in Greece with the exception of Thebes. It was forbidden and even sometimes enjoined by such eminent Greek philosophers as Plato and Aristotle, Solon and Lycurgus. The destruction of infants was also very common among the Romans. There was no legal check to this inhuman crime, except at intervals. The father had the power of life and death over his child. And as an evidence that human nature does not improve with time and is everywhere the same, unless it is redeemed with the leaven of Christianity, the wanton sacrifice of infant life is probably as general to-day in China and in heathen countries as it was in ancient Greece and Rome. The Catholic Church has sternly set her face against this ex-

and murder of innocent babes. She had denounced it as a crime more revolting than that of Herod, because committed against one's own flesh and blood. She has condemned with equal energy the atrocious doctrine of Malthus, who suggested unnatural methods for diminishing the population of the human family. Were I not restrained by the fear of offending modesty and of imparting knowledge where "ignorance is bliss," I would dwell more at length on the social plague of ante-natal infanticide, which is insidiously and systematically spreading among us, in defiance of civil penalties and of the divine law which says: "Thou shalt not kill."

3. There is no phase of human misery for which the Church does not provide some remedy or alleviation. She has established infant asylums for the shelter of helpless babes who have been cruelly abandoned by their own parents, or bereft of them in the mysterious dispensations of Providence before they could know and feel a mother's love. These little waifs, like the infant Moses drifting in the turbid Nile, are rescued from an untimely death and are tenderly raised by the daughters of the great King, those consecrated virgins who become nursing mothers to them. And I have known more than one such motherless babe, who, like Israel's lawgiver in after years, became a leader among his people.

4. As the Church provides homes for those yet on the threshold of life, so, too, does she secure retreats for those on the threshold of death. She has asylums in which aged men and women find at one and the same time a refuge in their old age from the storms of life and a novitiate to prepare them for eternity. Thus, from the cradle to the grave, she is a nursing mother. She rocks her children in the cradle of infancy, and she soothes them to rest on the couch of death.

Louis XIV erected in Paris the famous Hôtel des Invalides for the veterans of France who had fought in the service of their country. And so has the Catholic religion provided for those who have been disabled in the battle of life, a home in which they are tenderly nursed in their declining years by devoted Sisters.

The Little Sisters of the Poor, whose congregation was founded in 1840, have now charge over two hundred and fifty establishments in different parts of the globe, the aged inmates

of those houses numbering thirty thousand, upward of seven thousand having died under their care up to 1889. To these asylums are welcomed, not only the members of the Catholic religion, but those also of every form of Christian faith, and even those without any faith at all. The Sisters make no distinction of persons, or nationality, or color, or creed—for true charity embraces all. The only question proposed by the Sisters to the applicant for shelter is this: Are you oppressed by age and penury? If so, come to us and we will provide for you.

5. She has orphan asylums where children of both sexes are reared and taught to become useful and worthy members of society.

6. Hospitals were unknown to the pagan world before the coming of Christ. The copious vocabularies of Greece and Rome had no word even to express the term. The Catholic Church has hospitals for the treatment and cure of every form of disease. She sends her daughters of charity and mercy to the battlefield and to the plague-stricken city. During the Crimean War, I remember to have read of a Sister who was struck dead by a ball while she was in the act of stooping down and bandaging the wound of a fallen soldier. Much praise was then deservedly bestowed on Florence Nightingale for her devotion to the sick and wounded soldiers. Her name resounded in both hemispheres. But in every Sister you have a Florence Nightingale, with this difference—that, like ministering angels, they move without noise along the path of duty, and like the angel Raphael, who concealed his name from Tobias, the Sister hides her name from the world.

Several years ago I accompanied to New Orleans eight Sisters of Charity who were sent from Baltimore to re-enforce the ranks of their heroic companions, or to supply the place of their devoted associates who had fallen at the post of duty in the fever-stricken cities of the South. Their departure from the scene of their labors was neither announced by the press nor heralded by public applause. They went calmly into the jaws of death, not bent on deeds of destruction, like the famous Six Hundred, but on deeds of mercy. They had no Tennessee to sound their praises. Their only ambition was—and how lofty is that ambition—that the recording angel might be the

biographer, that their names might be inscribed in the Book of Life, and that they might receive the recompense from him who has said: "I was sick and ye visited me; for as often as ye did it to one of the least of my brethren, ye did it to me." Within a few months after their arrival, six of the eight Sisters died victims to the epidemic.

These are a few of the many instances of heroic charity that have fallen under my own observation. Here are examples of sublime heroism not culled from the musty pages of ancient martyrologies, or books of chivalry, but happening in our day and under our own eyes. Here is a heroism not aroused by the emulation of brave comrades on the battlefield, or by the clash of arms, or the strains of martial hymns, or by the love of earthly fame, but inspired only by a sense of Christian duty and by the love of God and her fellow-beings.

7. The Catholic religion labors, not only to assuage the physical distempers of humanity, but also to reclaim the victims of moral disease. The redemption of fallen women from a life of infamy was never included in the scope of heathen philanthropy; and man's unregenerate nature is the same now as before the birth of Christ. He worships woman as long as she has charms to fascinate, but she is spurned and trampled upon as soon as she has ceased to please. It was reserved for him who knew no sin to throw the mantle of protection over sinning woman. There is no page in the gospel more touching than that which records our Saviour's merciful judgment on the adulterous woman. The Scribes and Pharisees, who had, perhaps, participated in her guilt, asked our Lord to pronounce sentence of death upon her, in accordance with the Mosaic law. "Hath no one condemned thee?" asked our Saviour. "No one, Lord," she answered. "Then," said he, "neither will I condemn thee. Go, sin no more." Inspired by this divine example, the Catholic Church shelters erring females in homes not inappropriately called Magdalene asylums and Houses of the Good Shepherd. Not to speak of other institutions established for the moral reformation of women, the congregation of the Good Shepherd at Angers, founded in 1836, has charge to-day of one hundred and fifty houses, in which ~~number of~~ four thousand Sisters devote themselves to the care

of over twenty thousand females, who had yielded to temptation or were rescued from impending danger.

8. The Christian religion has been the unvarying friend and advocate of the bondman. Before the dawn of Christianity slavery was universal in civilized, as well as in barbarous nations. The apostles were everywhere confronted by the children of oppression. Their first task was to mitigate the horrors and alleviate the miseries of human bondage. They cheered the slave by holding up to him the example of Christ who voluntarily became a slave that we might enjoy the glorious liberty of children of God. The bondman had an equal participation with his master in the sacraments of the Church and in the priceless consolation which religion affords. Slave owners were admonished to be kind and humane to their slaves by being reminded with apostolic freedom that they and their servants had the same master in heaven, who had no respect of persons. The ministers of the Catholic religion down the ages sought to lighten the burden and improve the condition of the slave as far as social prejudices would permit, till, at length the chains fell from their feet. Human slavery has, at last, thank God, melted away before the noonday sun of the gospel. No Christian country contains to-day a solitary slave. To paraphrase the words of a distinguished Irish jurist—as soon as a bondman puts his foot in a Christian land, he stands redeemed, regenerated, and disenthralled, on the sacred soil of Christendom.

9. The Saviour of mankind never conferred a greater temporal boon on mankind than by ennobling and sanctifying manual labor, and by rescuing it from the stigma of degradation which had been branded upon it. Before Christ appeared among man, manual and even mechanical work was regarded as servile and degrading to the freeman of pagan Rome, and was consequently relegated to slaves. Christ is ushered into the world, not amid the pomp and splendor of imperial majesty, but amid the environments of a humble child of toil. He is the reputed son of an artisan, and his early manhood is spent in a mechanic's shop. "Is not this the carpenter, the son of Mary?" The primeval curse attached to labor is obliterated by the toilsome life of Jesus Christ. Ever since he pursued his trade as a carpenter, he has lightened the mechanic's tools, and

ed a halo around the workshop. If the profession of a general, a jurist, and a statesman is adorned by the example of a Washington, a Taney, and a Burke, how much more is the character of a workman ennobled by the example of Christ! What De Tocqueville said of the United States sixty years ago is true to-day—that with us every honest labor is laudable, thanks to the example and teaching of Christ.

To sum up: The Catholic Church has taught man the knowledge of God and of himself; she has brought comfort to his heart by instructing him to bear the ills of life with Christian philosophy; she has sanctified the marriage bond; she has proclaimed the sanctity and inviolability of human life from the moment that the body is animated by the spark of life, till it is extinguished; she has founded asylums for the training of children of both sexes and for the support of the aged poor; she has established hospitals for the sick and homes for the redemption of fallen women; she has exerted her influence toward the mitigation and abolition of human slavery; she has been the unwavering friend of the sons of toil. These are some of the blessings which the Catholic Church has conferred on society.

I will not deny—on the contrary, I am happy to avow—that the various Christian bodies outside the Catholic Church have arisen, and are to-day, zealous promoters of most of these works

of Christian benevolence which I have enumerated. Not to speak of the innumerable humanitarian houses established by our non-Catholic brethren throughout the land, I bear cheerful testimony to the philanthropic institutions founded by Wilkeson, by Shepherd, by Johns Hopkins, Enoch Pratt, and George Peabody, in the city of Baltimore. But will not our separated brethren have the candor to acknowledge that we had first possession of the field, that the beneficent movements have been inaugurated by us, and that the other Christian communities, by their noble efforts for the moral and social regeneration of mankind, have in no small measure been stimulated by the example and emulation of the ancient Church?

Let us do all we can in our day and generation in the cause of humanity. Every man has a mission from God to help his fellow-beings. Though we differ in faith, thank God there is a common platform on which we stand united, and that is the platform

of charity and benevolence. We cannot, indeed, like the vine Master, give sight to the blind, hearing to the deaf, to the dumb, and strength to the paralyzed limb, but we work miracles of grace and mercy by relieving the misery of our suffering brethren. And never do we approach our Heavenly Father than when we alleviate the suffering of others. Never do we perform an act more God-like than when we bring sunshine to hearts that are dark and desolate. Are we more like to God than when we cause the flower and of gladness to bloom in souls that were dry and barren. "Religion," says the Apostle, "pure and undefiled before God and the Father, is this: To visit the fatherless and widows in their tribulation, and to keep one's self undefiled in this world," or, to borrow the words of pagan Cicero, "*ad Deos nulla re propius accedunt quam salutem hominibus*" (There is no other way by which men can approach to God than by contributing to the welfare of their fellow-creatures).

FIRST INAUGURAL ADDRESS

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BY

GROVER CLEVELAND

GROVER CLEVELAND

Grover Cleveland was born in the village of Caldwell, Essex, New Jersey, March 18, 1837. In 1841, his father, a Presbyterian minister, moved to Fayetteville, New York, where young Cleveland received his early education. He studied law in the office of a prominent law firm in Buffalo, and was admitted to the bar in 1859. His political career began with his election, in his twenty-seventh year, to the office of prosecuting attorney of Erie County, New York. He was defeated in 1865 as a candidate for the same office, but was elected sheriff of Erie County in 1870. This office he held for four years. He resumed his law practice in 1874, and became, in a few years, one of the most prominent lawyers of the State. In 1882 he was elected mayor of Buffalo on the Democratic ticket, and a few months later became Governor of the State of New York. As Governor his administration was remarkable for the simplicity and unostentatious manner in which the business under his charge was conducted. He looked upon public office as a trust bestowed on him by the people, to be discharged without any other business obligation.

In the convention at Chicago in 1884 Grover Cleveland received the Democratic nomination for the presidency of the United States. The contest between Cleveland and Blaine was one of the most vigorous conducted presidential campaigns since the Civil War. Cleveland was elected by a narrow majority. In his inaugural address on March 4, 1885, President Cleveland upheld the principles of the Monroe doctrine, and pointed out the need of strict economy in the administration of the government and the enforcement of civil service reform, in accordance with the right of the people to demand protection from the incompetence of public employes. On June 2, 1885, he married Miss Frances Folsom, the daughter of his former business partner, Oscar Folsom. He was defeated in his candidature for the second term in 1888, and returned to New York to resume the practice of law.

At the Democratic national convention in 1892 he received the nomination for President the third time and was elected to fill that office. The issue "tariff for revenue only" carried the day. His second term was marked by great and prolonged financial depression. In his national affairs his ultimatum addressed to England in the Venezuela dispute was the most prominent incident and brought America to the verge of war with that country. Since his retirement from office Cleveland has taken up his residence at Princeton, New Jersey.

FIRST INAUGURAL ADDRESS

Delivered at Washington, March 4, 1885

FELLOW-CITIZENS: In the presence of this vast assemblage of my countrymen I am about to supplement and seal by the oath which I shall take the manifestation of the will of a great and free people. In the exercise of their power and right of self-government they have committed to one of their fellow-citizens a supreme and sacred trust, and he here consecrates himself to their service.

This impressive ceremony adds little to the solemn sense of responsibility with which I contemplate the duty I owe to all the people of the land. Nothing can relieve me from anxiety lest by any act of mine their interests may suffer, and nothing is needed to strengthen my resolution to engage every faculty and effort in the promotion of their welfare.

Amid the din of party strife the people's choice was made, but its attendant circumstances have demonstrated anew the strength and safety of a government by the people. In each succeeding year it more clearly appears that our democratic principle needs no apology, and that in its fearless and faithful application is to be found the surest guaranty of good government.

But the best results in the operation of a government wherein every citizen has a share largely depend upon a proper limitation of purely partisan zeal and effort and a correct appreciation of the time when the heat of the partisan should be merged in the patriotism of the citizen.

To-day the executive branch of the government is transferred to new keeping. But this is still the government of all the people, and it should be none the less an object of their affectionate solicitude. At this hour the animosities of political strife, the bitterness of partisan defeat, and the exultation

of partisan triumph should be supplanted by an ungrudging acquiescence in the popular will and a sober, conscientious concern for the general weal. Moreover, if from this hour cheerfully and honestly abandon all sectional prejudice and distrust, and determine, with manly confidence in one another, to work out harmoniously the achievement of our national destiny, we shall deserve to realize all the benefits which our happy form of government can bestow.

On this auspicious occasion we may well renew the pledge of our devotion to the constitution, which, launched by the founders of the republic and consecrated by their prayers and patriotic devotion, has for almost a century borne the hopes and the aspirations of a great people through prosperity and peace and through the shock of foreign conflicts and the perils of domestic strife and vicissitudes.

By the father of his country our constitution was commended for adoption as "the result of a spirit of amity and mutual concession." In that same spirit it should be administered, in order to promote the lasting welfare of the country and to secure the full measure of its priceless benefits to us and to those who will succeed to the blessings of our national life. To the large variety of diverse and competing interests subject to federal control persistently seeking the recognition of their claims need give us no fear that "the greatest good to the greatest number" will fail to be accomplished if in the halls of national legislation that spirit of amity and mutual concession shall prevail in which the constitution had its birth. If this involve the surrender or postponement of private interests and the abandonment of local advantages, compensation will be found in the assurance that the common interest is subserved and the general welfare advanced.

In the discharge of my official duty I shall endeavor to be guided by a just and unstrained construction of the constitution, a careful observance of the distinction between the powers granted to the federal government and those reserved to the States or to the people, and by a cautious appreciation of the functions which by the constitution and laws have been assigned to the executive branch of the government.

But he who takes the oath to-day to preserve, protect, and defend the constitution of the United States only assumes

solemn obligation which every patriotic citizen—on the farm, in the workshop, in the busy marts of trade, and everywhere—should share with him. The constitution which prescribes his path, my countrymen, is yours; the government you have chosen him to administer for a time is yours; the suffrage which executes the will of freemen is yours; the laws and the entire scheme of our civil rule, from the town meeting to the State capitals and the national capital, is yours. Your every voter, as surely as your chief magistrate, under the same high sanction, though in a different sphere, exercises a public trust. Nor is this all. Every citizen owes to the country a vigilant watch and close scrutiny of its public servants and a fair and reasonable estimate of their fidelity and usefulness. Thus is the people's will impressed upon the whole framework of our civil polity—municipal, State, and federal; and this is the price of our liberty and the inspiration of our faith in the republic.

It is the duty of those serving the people in public place to closely limit public expenditures to the actual needs of the government economically administered, because this bounds the right of the government to exact tribute from the earnings of labor or the property of the citizen, and because public extravagance begets extravagance among the people. We should never be ashamed of the simplicity and prudential economies which are best suited to the operation of a republican form of government and most compatible with the mission of the American people. Those who are selected for a limited time to manage public affairs are still of the people, and may do much by their example to encourage, consistently with the dignity of their official functions, that plain way of life which among their fellow-citizens aids integrity and promotes thrift and prosperity.

The genius of our institutions, the needs of our people in their home life, and the attention which is demanded for the settlement and development of the resources of our vast territory, dictate the scrupulous avoidance of any departure from that foreign policy commended by the history, the traditions, and the prosperity of our republic. It is the policy of independence, favored by our position and defended by our known love of justice and by our own power. It is the policy of peace amenable to our interests. It is the policy of neutrality, reject-

ing any share in foreign broils and ambitions upon other continents and repelling their intrusion here. It is the policy of Monroe, and of Washington, and of Jefferson—"Peace, commerce, and honest friendship with all nations; entangling alliance with none."

A due regard for the interests and prosperity of all the people demands that our finances shall be established upon such a sound and sensible basis as shall secure the safety and confidence of business interests and make the wages of labor sure and steady, and that our system of revenue shall be so adjusted as to relieve the people of unnecessary taxation, having a due regard to the interests of capital invested and working men employed in American industries, and preventing the accumulation of a surplus in the treasury to tempt extravagance and waste.

Care for the property of the nation and for the needs of future settlers requires that the public domain should be protected from purloining schemes and unlawful occupation.

The conscience of the people demands that the Indians within our boundaries shall be fairly and honestly treated and towards of the government and their education and civilization promoted with a view to their ultimate citizenship, and that polygamy in the Territories, destructive of the family relation and offensive to the moral sense of the civilized world, shall be repressed.

The laws should be rigidly enforced which prohibit the immigration of a servile class to compete with American labor with no intention of acquiring citizenship, and bringing with them and retaining habits and customs repugnant to our civilization.

The people demand reform in the administration of the government and the application of business principles to public affairs. As a means to this end, civil service reform should be in good faith enforced. Our citizens have the right to protection from the incompetency of public employes who hold their places solely as the reward of partisan service, and from the corrupting influence of those who promise and the vicious methods of those who expect such rewards; and those who worthily seek public employment have the right to insist that

merit and competency shall be recognized instead of party subserviency or the surrender of honest political belief.

In the administration of a government pledged to do equal and exact justice to all men, there should be no pretext for anxiety touching the protection of the freedmen in their rights or their security in the enjoyment of their privileges under the constitution and its amendments. All discussion as to their fitness for the place accorded to them as American citizens is idle and unprofitable except as it suggests the necessity for their improvement. The fact that they are citizens entitles them to all the rights due to that relation and charges them with all its duties, obligations and responsibilities.

These topics and the constant and ever-varying wants of an active and enterprising population may well receive the attention and the patriotic endeavor of all who make and execute the federal law. Our duties are practical and call for industrious application, an intelligent perception of the claims of public office, and above all, a firm determination, by united action, to secure to all the people of the land the full benefits of the best form of government ever vouchsafed to man. And let us not trust to human effort alone, but humbly acknowledging the power and goodness of Almighty God, who presides over the destiny of nations and who has at all times been revealed in our country's history, let us invoke his aid and his blessing upon our labors.

WILLIAM MCKINLEY

William McKinley was born at Niles, Trumbull County, Ohio, January 29, 1844. He received his early education at the schools of his town and at the age of seventeen became a soldier in the army of the Union. He served throughout the war with the Twenty-third Ohio Volunteer infantry regiment, and was mustered out as Captain and brevet Major. He then began the study of law, and was admitted to the bar and elected prosecuting attorney of Stark County in 1869. His career in national politics begins with his election to the Forty-fifth Congress. During his terms in Congress he studied closely the needs of American labor and the conditions to which it must be conformed in order to develop American industries. He has been identified more with the practical than with the theoretical side of politics. The tariff and its collateral issues have always been his strong points. He made a thorough and exhaustive study of the tariff in all its phases, considering this the most vital economical question likely to affect the welfare of the country in the future.

In 1888 McKinley led the Ohio delegation to the Republican national convention with instructions to vote for John Sherman as nominee for President. McKinley's unselfish and loyal conduct in this connection did much to increase his popularity and to establish a reputation for scrupulous integrity with his party. Under President Harrison's administration the tariff question in Congress was placed in his hands, and as a result the McKinley Bill, named after its author, originated, and later became a law. The tariff thus established was highly protective and in many instances entirely prohibitive; the new law, besides, placed arbitrary powers in the hands of the chief executive in its administration. It met with a storm of criticism and reprobation in the most unexpected quarters, resulting in a great Democratic victory in 1890, McKinley himself being defeated as a candidate for re-election to Congress. Yet, after the reaction set in, McKinley was elected Governor of his State in 1891, following an exciting campaign.

At the national convention of the Republican party, held in Chicago in 1896, Governor McKinley received the presidential nomination of his party. He was elected and duly inaugurated as President of the United States on March 4, 1897. His administration will go down in history as one of the most remarkable and most important in the annals of the country. The patient statesmanship and far-sighted prudence with which McKinley met the crisis in our dealings with Spain and the swift and decisive blow by which he rescued the people of Cuba from oppression have won him a high place in the annals of American history. By his sympathetic nature, his tact, his political sagacity, and by his large and genuine patriotism President McKinley has endeared himself to a vast number of his countrymen. His "Inaugural Address" outlines his policy as President.

INAUGURAL ADDRESS

Delivered at Washington, March 4, 1897

FELLOW-CITIZENS: In obedience to the will of the people and in their presence, by the authority vested in me by this oath, I assume the arduous and responsible duties of President of the United States, relying on the support of my countrymen and invoking the guidance of Almighty God. Our faith teaches that there is no safer reliance than upon the God of our fathers, who has so singularly favored the American people in every national trial, and who will not forsake us so long as we obey his commandments and walk humbly in his footsteps.

The responsibilities of the high trust to which I have been called—always of grave importance—are augmented by the prevailing business conditions, entailing idleness upon willing labor and loss to useful enterprises. The country is suffering from industrial disturbances from which speedy relief must be had.

Our financial system needs some revision. Our money is all good now, but its value must not further be threatened. It should all be put upon an enduring basis, not subject to easy attack, nor its stability to doubt or dispute. Our currency should continue under the supervision of the government.

The several forms of our paper money offer, in my judgment, a constant embarrassment to the government and a safe balance in the Treasury. Therefore I believe it necessary to devise a system which, without diminishing the circulating medium, or offering a premium for its contraction, will present a remedy for those arrangements which, temporary in their nature, might well in the years of our prosperity have been displaced by wiser provisions. With adequate revenue secured, but not until then, we can enter upon such changes in our fiscal laws as

will, while ensuring safety and volume to our money, no longer impose upon the government the necessity of maintaining a large a gold reserve, with its attendant and inevitable temptations to speculation.

Most of our financial laws are the outgrowth of experience and trial, and should not be amended without investigation and demonstration of the wisdom of the proposed changes. We must be both "sure we are right" and "make haste slowly."

If, therefore, Congress in its wisdom shall deem it expedient to create a commission to take under early consideration a revision of our coinage, banking and currency laws, and give them that exhaustive, careful, and dispassionate examination that their importance demands, I shall cordially concur in such action.

If such power is vested in the President, it is my purpose to appoint a commission of prominent, well-informed citizens of different parties, who will command public confidence because on account of their ability and special fitness for the work. Business experience and public training may thus be combined and the patriotic zeal of the friends of the country be so directed that such a report will be made as to receive the support of all parties, and our finances cease to be the subject of mere partisan contention. The experiment is, at all events, worth a trial, and, in my opinion, it can but prove beneficial to the entire country.

The question of international bimetallism will have early and earnest attention. It will be my constant endeavor to secure it by co-operation with the other great commercial powers of the world.

Until that condition is realized when the parity between gold and silver money springs from and is supported by the relative value of the two metals, the value of the silver already coined and of that which may hereafter be coined must be kept constantly at par with gold by every resource at our command. The credit of the government, the integrity of its currency and the inviolability of its obligations must be preserved. This will be the commanding verdict of the people, and it will not be lightly heeded.

Economy is demanded in every branch of the government at all times, but especially in periods like the present of

pression in business and distress among the people. The severest economy must be observed in all public expenditures, and extravagance stopped wherever it is found, and prevented wherever in the future it may be developed.

If the revenues are to remain as now, the only relief that can come must be from decreased expenditures. But the present must not become the permanent condition of the government. It has been our uniform practice to retire, not increase, our outstanding obligations, and this policy must again be resumed and vigorously enforced. Our revenues should always be large enough to meet with ease and promptness not only our current needs, and the principal and interest of the public debt, but to make proper and liberal provision for that most deserving body of public creditors, the soldiers and sailors and the widows and orphans who are the pensioners of the United States.

The government should not be permitted to run behind or increase its debt in times like the present. Suitably to provide against this is the mandate of duty—the certain and easy remedy for most of our financial difficulties. A deficiency is inevitable so long as the expenditures of the government exceed its receipts. It can only be met by loans or an increased revenue. While a large annual surplus of revenue may unite waste and extravagance, inadequate revenue creates distrust and undermines public and private credit. Neither should be encouraged. Between more loans and more revenue there ought to be but one opinion. We should have more revenue, and that without delay, hinderance or postponement. A surplus in the Treasury created by loans is not a permanent or safe reliance. It will suffice while it lasts, but it cannot last long while the outlays of the government are greater than its receipts, as has been the case during the past two years. Nor must it be forgotten that however much such loans may temporarily relieve the situation, the government is still indebted for the amount of the surplus thus accrued, which it must ultimately pay, while its ability to pay is not strengthened but weakened by a continued deficit. Loans are imperative in great emergencies to preserve the government or its credit, but a failure to supply needed revenue in time of peace for its maintenance of either has no justification.

The best way for the government to maintain its credit is to

pay as it goes—not by resorting to loans, but by keeping out of debt—through an adequate income secured by a system of taxation, external or internal, or both.

It is the settled policy of the government pursued from the beginning and practised by all parties and administrations, to raise the bulk of our revenues from taxes upon foreign productions entering the United States for sale and consumption and avoiding, for the most part, every form of direct taxation except in time of war. The country is clearly opposed to any needless additions to the subjects of internal taxation, and is committed by its latest popular utterance to the system of tariff taxation. There can be no misunderstanding, either, about the principle upon which this tariff taxation shall be levied. Nothing has ever been made plainer at a general election than that the controlling principle in the raising of revenue from duties on imports is zealous care for American interests and American labor.

The people have declared that such legislation should be had as will give ample protection and encouragement to the industries and development of our country.

It is, therefore, earnestly hoped and expected that Congress will, at the earliest practicable moment, enact revenue legislation that shall be fair, reasonable, conservative and just, and which, while supplying sufficient revenue for public purposes, will still be signally beneficial and helpful to every section and every enterprise of the people.

To this policy we are all, of whatever party, firmly bound by the voice of the people—a power vastly more potential than the expression of any political platform. The paramount duty of Congress is to stop deficiencies by the restoration of that protective legislation which has always been the firmest prop of the Treasury. The passage of such a law or laws would strengthen the credit of the government both at home and abroad, and go far toward stopping the drain upon the gold reserve held for the redemption of our currency, which has been heavy and well-nigh constant for several years.

In the revision of the tariff especial attention should be given to the re-enactment and extension of the reciprocity principle of the law of 1890, under which so great a stimulus was given to our foreign trade in new and advantageous markets for our

as agricultural and manufactured products. The brief given this legislation amply justifies a further experiment of additional discretionary power in the making of commercial treaties, the end in view always to be the opening up of new markets for the products of our country, by granting concessions to the products of other lands that we need and cannot produce ourselves, and which do not involve any loss of labor to our own people, but tend to increase their employment. The depression of the last four years has fallen with especial weight upon the great body of toilers of the country, and upon more than the holders of small farms. Agriculture has been crushed and labor suffered. The revival of manufacturing will be a relief to both.

A portion of our population is more devoted to the institutions of free government nor more loyal in their support, than none bears more cheerfully or fully its proper share in the maintenance of the government or is better entitled to its aid and liberal care and protection. Legislation helpful to the farmer is beneficial to all. The depressed condition of industry on the farm and in the mine and factory has lessened the ability of the people to meet the demands upon them, and we might rightfully expect that not only a system of revenue shall be established that will secure the largest income with the least burden, but that every means will be taken to decrease, rather than increase, our public expenditures.

Business conditions are not the most promising. It will take time to restore the prosperity of former years. If we cannot promptly attain it, we can resolutely turn our faces in that direction and aid its return by friendly legislation. However desolate the situation may appear Congress will not, I am confident, be found lacking in disposition or ability to relieve it, as legislation can do so. The restoration of confidence and the revival of business, which men of all parties so much depend more largely upon the prompt, energetic and independent action of Congress than upon any other single agency in relieving the situation.

It is inspiring, too, to remember that no great emergency has arisen that has not been met with wisdom and courage by the American people, with fidelity to their best interests and

highest destiny, and to the honor of the American name. The years of glorious history have exalted mankind and advanced the cause of freedom throughout the world, and immeasurably strengthened the precious free institutions which we enjoy. The people love and will sustain these institutions.

The great essential to our happiness and prosperity is that we adhere to the principles upon which the government was established, and insist upon their faithful observance. Equality of rights must prevail and our laws be always and everywhere respected and obeyed. We may have failed in the discharge of our full duty as citizens of the great republic, but it is consolatory and encouraging to realize that free speech, a free press, free thought, free schools, the free and unmolested right of religious liberty and worship, and free and fair elections are dearer and more universally enjoyed to-day than ever before.

These guarantees must be sacredly preserved and wisely strengthened. The constituted authorities must be cheerfully and vigorously upheld. Lynchings must not be tolerated in a great and civilized country like the United States; courts—mob—must execute the penalty of the law. The preservation of public order, the right of discussion, the integrity of courts, and the orderly administration of justice must continue forever the rock of safety upon which our government securely rests.

One of the lessons taught by the late election which all may rejoice in is that the citizens of the United States are both law-respecting and law-abiding people, not easily swerved from the path of patriotism and honor. This is in entire accord with the genius of our institutions and but emphasizes the advantage of inculcating even a greater love for law and order in the future. Immunity should be granted to none who violate the laws, whether individuals, corporations, or communities; as the constitution imposes upon the President the duty to execute both its own execution and the statutes enacted in pursuance of its provisions, I shall endeavor carefully to carry them into effect.

The declaration of the party now restored to power has been in the past that of "opposition to all combinations of capital organized in trusts, or otherwise, to control arbitrarily the condition of trade among our citizens," and it has supported "such legislation as will prevent the execution of all schemes to

press the people by undue charges on their supplies or by unjust rates for the transportation of their products to market." This purpose will be steadily pursued, both by the enforcement of the laws now in existence and the recommendation and support of such new statutes as may be necessary to carry it into effect.

Our naturalization and immigration laws should be further improved to the constant promotion of a safer, a better and a higher citizenship. A grave peril to the republic would be a citizenship too ignorant to understand, or too vicious to appreciate, the great value and beneficence of our institutions and laws—and against all who come here to make war upon them our gates must be promptly and tightly closed.

Nor must we be unmindful of the need of improvement among our own citizens, but with the zeal of our forefathers encourage the spread of knowledge and free institutions. Illiteracy must be banished from the land if we shall attain that high destiny as the foremost of the enlightened nations of the world which, under Providence, we ought to achieve.

Reform in the civil service must go on, but the changes should be real and genuine, not perfunctory, or prompted by a zeal in behalf of any party simply because it happens to be in power. As a member of Congress I voted and spoke in favor of the present law, and I shall attempt its enforcement in the spirit in which it was enacted. The purpose in view was to secure the most efficient service of the best men who would accept appointments under the government, retaining faithful and devoted public servants in office, but shielding none under the authority of any rule or custom, who are inefficient, incompetent or unworthy. The best interests of the country demand this, and the people heartily approve of the law wherever and whenever it has been thus administered.

Congress should give prompt attention to the restoration of our American merchant marine, once the pride of the seas in all the great ocean highways of commerce.

To my mind few more important subjects so imperatively demand its intelligent consideration. The United States has progressed with marvellous rapidity in every field of enterprise and endeavor until we have become foremost in nearly

Yet while this is true, our American merchant marine has been steadily declining until it is now lower, both in the percentage of tonnage and the number of vessels employed, than it was prior to the civil war.

Commendable progress has been made of late years in the upbuilding of the American navy, but we must supplement those efforts by providing as a proper consort for it a merchant marine amply sufficient for our own carrying trade to foreign countries. The question is one that appeals both to our business necessities and the patriotic aspirations of a great people.

It has been the policy of the United States since the foundation of the government to cultivate relations of peace and amity with all the nations of the world, and this accords with my conception of our duty now.

We have cherished the policy of non-interference with the affairs of foreign governments, wisely inaugurated by Washington, keeping ourselves free from entanglement either with allies or foes, content to leave undisturbed with them the settlement of their own domestic concerns.

It will be our aim to pursue a firm and dignified foreign policy, which shall be just, impartial, ever watchful of our national honor and always insisting upon the enforcement of the lawful rights of American citizens everywhere. We want no war of conquest; we must avoid the temptation of territorial aggression.

War should never be entered upon until every agency of peace has failed; peace is preferable to war in almost every contingency. Arbitration is the true method of settlement of international as well as local or individual differences.

It was recognized as the best means of adjustment of differences between employers and employés by the Forty-ninth Congress in 1886, and its application was extended to our diplomatic relations by the unanimous concurrence of the Senate and House of the Fifty-first Congress in 1890. The latter resolution was accepted as the basis of negotiation with us by the British House of Commons in 1893, and upon our invitation a treaty of arbitration between the United States and Great Britain was signed at Washington and transmitted to the Senate for its ratification in January last.

it has been recognized as the leading feature of our foreign policy throughout our entire national history—the adjustment of difficulties by judicial methods rather than force of arms—and since it presents to the world the glorious example of reason and peace, not passion and war, controlling relations between two of the greatest nations of the world, an example certain to be followed by others, I respectfully urge early action of the Senate thereon, not merely as a matter of policy, but as a duty to mankind.

The importance and moral influence of the ratification of a treaty can hardly be over-estimated in the cause of advancing civilization. It may well engage the best thought of every statesman and people of every country, and I cannot but deem it fortunate that it was reserved to the United States to give the leadership in so grand a work.

It has been the uniform practice of each President to avoid, for as possible, the convening of Congress in extraordinary session. It is an example which, under ordinary circumstances and in the absence of a public necessity, is to be commended. A failure to convene the representatives of the people in Congress in extra session when it involves neglect of a public duty places the responsibility of such neglect upon the Executive himself.

The condition of the public treasury, as has been indicated, demands the immediate consideration of Congress. It alone has the power to provide revenues for the government. Not to convene it under such circumstance, I can view in no other light than the neglect of a plain duty.

I do not sympathize with the sentiment that Congress in session is dangerous to our general business interests. Its members are the agents of the people, and their presence at the seat of government in the execution of the sovereign will should not operate as an injury, but a benefit.

There could be no better time to put the government upon a sound financial and economic basis than now. The people have only recently voted that this should be done, and nothing more binding upon the agents of this will than the obligation to take immediate action. It has always seemed to me that the postponement of the meeting of Congress until more than a year has been chosen deprived Congress too often of the

inspiration of the popular will and the country of the corresponding benefit.

It is evident, therefore, that to postpone action in the presence of so great a necessity would be unwise on the part of the Executive because unjust to the interests of the people. Our actions now will be freer from mere partisan consideration than if the question of tariff revision was postponed until the regular session of Congress. We are nearly two years from a Congressional election, and politics cannot so greatly distract us as if such contest was immediately pending. We can approach the problem calmly and patriotically, without fearing its effect upon an early election. Our fellow-citizens who may disagree with us upon the character of this legislation prefer to have the question settled now, even against their preconceived views, and perhaps settled so reasonably and I trust and believe it will be, as to insure great permanence, than to have further uncertainty menacing the vast and varied business interests of the United States.

Again, whatever action Congress may take will be given a fair opportunity for trial before the people are called to pass judgment upon it, and this I consider a great essential to a rightful and lasting settlement of the question. In view of these considerations, I shall deem it my duty as President to convene Congress in extraordinary session on Monday, March 15, 1882.

In conclusion, I congratulate the country upon the fraternal spirit of the people and the manifestations of good-will everywhere so apparent. The recent election not only most fortunately demonstrated the obliteration of sectional or geographical lines, but to some extent also the prejudices which for years have distracted our councils and marred our true greatness as a nation.

The triumph of the people, whose verdict is carried into effect to-day, is not the triumph of one section, nor wholly one party, but of all sections, and all the people. The North and the South no longer divide on the old lines, but upon principles and policies; and in this fact surely every lover of the country can find cause for true felicitation. Let us rejoice and cultivate this spirit, it is ennobling and will be both a gain and blessing to our beloved country. It will be my constant

rest or disturb this growing sentiment of unity and operation, this revival of esteem and affiliation which now animates so many thousands in both the old antagonistic sections, but I shall cheerfully do everything possible to promote and increase it.

Let me again repeat the words of the oath administered by the Chief Justice, which, in their respective spheres, so far as applicable, I would have all my countrymen observe:

“I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States, and will, to the best of my ability, preserve, protect, and defend the constitution of the United States.”

This is the obligation I have reverently taken before the Lord Most High. To keep it will be my single purpose; my constant prayer—and I shall confidently rely upon the forbearance and assistance of all the people in the discharge of my solemn responsibilities.

HENRY WOODFIN GRADY

1851—1889

Henry Woodfin Grady was born at Athens, Georgia, May 24, 1851. He was the son of a successful merchant who enlisted during the Civil War on the Confederate side and was killed near Petersburg. Grady was graduated from the State University, and after taking a post-graduate course at the University of Virginia, he became editor of a daily newspaper in Rome, Georgia. During the latter part of the Reconstruction period in the South Grady wrote a series of articles to the New York "Herald" on Southern politics. These letters, filled with unprejudiced common-sense, and the calm logic of facts—so different from the ordinary political contributions of that day—attracted wide attention at the North. In 1880 Cyrus W. Field, the New York millionaire, on his own initiative, loaned Grady sufficient capital to acquire an interest in the Atlanta "Constitution." He became editor of that paper, a position that he held until his death. Grady was an able and enterprising journalist of the modern type; but it was as an orator that he gained a national reputation which bears favorable comparison to that of the foremost orators of the nineteenth century.

His first great speech of national import was delivered at the annual banquet of the New England Society, on December 22, 1887. This brilliant speech made him widely known, and his talents received recognition at both the North and South. "The South has nothing for which to apologize," was the key-note of that great speech. Accepting the results of the Civil War as facts, he was proud of the stand the South had taken in the contest, and only desired to see the sincerity and honesty of its purpose vindicated. The famous prohibition speech in Atlanta followed in 1887 and the address at the State fair of Texas where he had an audience of a score of thousands, was delivered during the next year. The greatest and last effort of his life was his address before the Merchants' Association in Boston, delivered on December 12, 1889.

Grady was a man of a fervent nature, of vivid and active imagination, impetuous, yet self-poised. His oratory was captivating, commanding the attention of his hearers throughout without any conscious effort on his part. The tact he displayed in the discussion of sectional questions was most remarkable. His great eloquence, his abiding love for the common country and his entire sympathy with his subject, did much to set before the North the cause of the South in an impartial light. His greatest claim to the nation's gratitude consists in his successful endeavors to bring the two sections of the country to a better understanding of one another and to soothe and heal the old wounds left by the animosities of the Civil War. He died December 23, 1889, after a short illness contracted on the visit he made to Boston to deliver his speech on the "New South."

THE NEW SOUTH

*Delivered at a banquet of the Boston Merchants' Association
in Boston, December 12, 1889*

THE stoutest apostle of the church, they say, is the missionary, and the missionary, wherever he unfurls his flag, will never find himself in deeper need of unction and address than I, bidden to-night to plant the standard of a Southern Democrat in Boston's banquet hall, and to discuss the problem of the races in the home of Phillips and of Sumner. But, Mr. President, if a purpose to speak in perfect frankness and sincerity; if earnest understanding of the vast interests involved; if a consecrating sense of what disaster must follow further misunderstanding and estrangement—if all these may be counted on to steady undisciplined speech and to strengthen an untried arm, then, sir, I shall find the courage to proceed.

Happy am I that this mission has brought my feet, at last, to press New England's historic soil, and my eyes to the knowledge of her beauty and her thrift. Here within touch of Plymouth Rock and Bunker Hill—where Webster thundered and Longfellow sung, Emerson thought, and Channing preached—here in the cradle of American letters and almost of American liberty, I hasten to make the obeisance that every American owes New England when first he stands uncovered in her mighty presence. Strange apparition! This stern and unique figure, carved from the ocean and the wilderness, its majesty kindling and growing amid the storms of winters and of wars, until, at last, the gloom was broken, its beauty disclosed in the tranquil sunshine, and the heroic workers rested at its base, while startled kings and emperors gazed and marvelled that from the rude touch of this handful, cast on a bleak and unknown shore, should have come the embodied genius of human liberty! God bless the memory of those immortal work-

ers—and prosper the fortunes of their living sons—and perpetuate the inspiration of their handiwork!

Two years ago, sir, I spoke some words in New York that caught the attention of the North. As I stand here to reiterate and emphasize, as I have done everywhere, every word I then uttered—to declare that the sentiments I then avowed were universally approved in the South—I realize that the confidence begotten by that speech is largely responsible for my presence here to-night. I should dishonor myself if I betrayed that confidence by uttering one insincere word, or by withholding one essential element of the truth. *Apropos* of this last, let me confess, Mr. President—before the praise of New England has died on my lips—that I believe the best product of her present life is the procession of seventeen thousand Vermont Democrats that for twenty-two years, undiminished by death, unrecruited by birth or conversion, have marched over their rugged hills, cast their Democratic ballots, and gone back home to pray for their unregenerate neighbors and awake to read the record of twenty-six thousand Republican majority. May the God of the helpless and heroic help them, and may their sturdy tribe increase!

Far to the South, Mr. President, separated by a line—once defined in irrepressible difference, once traced in fratricidal blood, and now, thank God, but a vanishing shadow—lies the fairest and richest domain of this earth. It is the home of a brave and hospitable people. There is centred all that can please or prosper human-kind. A perfect climate above a fertile soil yields to the husbandman every product of the temperate zone. There, by night, the cotton whitens beneath the stars, and by day the wheat locks the sunshine in its bearded sheaf. In the same field the clover steals the fragrance of the wind, and the tobacco catches the quick aroma of the rains. There are mountains stored with exhaustless treasures; forests vast and primeval, and rivers that, tumbling or loitering, run wanton to the sea. Of the three essential items of all industries—cotton, iron, and wood—that region has easy control. In cotton, a fixed monopoly; in iron, proven supremacy; in timber, the reserve supply of the republic. From this assured and permanent advantage, against which artificial conditions cannot long prevail, has grown an amazing system

of industries. Not maintained by human contrivance of tariff or capital, afar off from the fullest and cheapest source of supply, but resting in Divine assurance, within touch of field and mine and forest—not set amid bleak hills and costly farms from which competition has driven the farmer in despair, but amid cheap and sunny lands, rich with agriculture, to which neither season nor soil has set a limit—this system of industries is mounting to a splendor that shall dazzle and illumine the world. That, sir, is the picture and the promise of my home—a land better and fairer than I have told you, and yet but a fit setting, in its material excellence, for the loyal and gentle quality of its citizenship. Against that, sir, we have New England recruiting the republic from its sturdy loins, shaking from its overcrowded hives new swarms of workers, and touching this land all over with its energy and its courage. And yet—while in the Eldorado, of which I have told you, but fifteen per cent. of lands are cultivated, its mines scarcely touched, and its population so scant that, were it set equidistant, the sound of the human voice could not be heard from Virginia to Texas—while on the threshold of nearly every house in New England stands a son, seeking with troubled eyes some new land in which to carry his modest patrimony, and the homely training that is better than gold—the strange fact remains that in 1880 the South had fewer Northern-born citizens than she had in 1870—fewer in 1870 than in 1860. Why is this? Why is it, sir, though the sectional line be now but a mist that the breath may dispel, fewer men of the North have crossed it over to the South than when it was crimson with the best blood of the republic, or even when the slaveholders stood guard every inch of its way?

There can be but one answer. It is the very problem we are now to consider. The key that opens that problem will unlock to the world the fairest half of this republic, and free the halted feet of thousands whose eyes are already kindling with its beauty. Better than this, it will open the hearts of brothers for thirty years estranged, and clasp in lasting comradeship a million hands now withheld in doubt. Nothing, sir, but this problem and the suspicions it breeds, hinders a clear understanding and a perfect union. Nothing else stands between us and such love as bound Georgia and Massachusetts at Valley

Forge and Yorktown, chastened by the sacrifice of Manassas and Gettysburg, and illumined with the coming of better work and a nobler destiny than was ever wrought by the sword sought at the cannon's mouth.

If this does not invite your patient hearing to-night—here is one thing more: My people, your brothers in the South—brothers in blood, in destiny, in all that is best in our past and future—are so beset with this problem that their very existence depends on its right solution. Nor are they wholly to blame for its presence. The slave-ships of the republic sailed from your ports—the slaves worked in our fields. You will not defend the traffic, nor I the institution. But I do here declare that in its wise and humane administration, in lifting the slave to the heights of which he had not dreamed in his savage home, and giving him a happiness he has not yet found in freedom, our fathers left their sons a saving and excellent heritage. In the storm of war this institution was lost. I thank God heartily as you do that human slavery is gone forever from American soil. But the freedman remains, and with him the problem without precedent or parallel. Note its appalling conditions. Two utterly dissimilar races on the same soil—with equal political and civil rights—almost equal in numbers, but terribly unequal in intelligence and responsibility—each pledged against fusion—one for a century in servitude to the other, and freed at last by a desolating war—the experiment sought by neither, but approached by both with doubt—these are the conditions. Under these, adverse at every point, we are required to carry these two races in peace and honor to the end.

Never, sir, has such a task been given to mortal stewardship. Never before in this republic has the white race divided on the rights of an alien race. The red man was cut down as a weed because he hindered the way of the American citizen. The yellow man was shut out of this republic because he is an alien and an inferior. The red man was owner of the land—the yellow man highly civilized and assimilable—but they hindered both sections and are gone! But the black man, clothed with every privilege of government, affecting but one section, pinned to the soil, and my people commanded to make good at any hazard, and at any cost, his full and equal heirship

American privilege and prosperity. It matters not that every other race has been routed or excluded, without rhyme or reason. It matters not that wherever the whites and blacks have touched, in any era or any clime, there has been irreconcilable violence. It matters not that no two races, however similar, have ever lived anywhere, at any time, on the same soil, with equal rights, in peace! In spite of these things, we are commanded to make good this change of American policy which has not, perhaps, changed American prejudice—to make certain here what has elsewhere been impossible between whites and blacks—and to reverse, under the very worst conditions, the universal verdict of racial history. And we are driven, sir, to this superhuman task with an impatience that brooks no delay, a rigor that accepts no excuse, and a suspicion that discourages frankness and sincerity. We do not shrink from this trial. It is so interwoven with our industrial fabric, that we cannot disentangle it if we would—so bound up in our honorable obligation to the world, that we would not if we could. Can we solve it? The God who gave it into our hands alone can know. But this, the weakest and wisest of us do know; we cannot solve it with less than your tolerant and patient sympathy—with less than the knowledge that the blood that runs in your veins is our blood—and that, when we have done our best, whether the issue be lost or won, we shall feel your strong arms about us and hear the beating of your approving hearts!

The resolute, clear-headed, broad-minded men of the South—the men whose genius made glorious every page of the first seventy years of American history—whose courage and fortitude you tested in five years of the fiercest war—whose energy has made bricks without straw and spread splendor amid the ashes of their war-wasted homes—these men wear this problem on their hearts and their brains, by day and by night. They realize, as you cannot, what this problem means—what they owe to this kindly and dependent race—the measure of their debt to the world in whose despite they defended and maintained slavery. And though their feet are hindered in its undergrowth, and their march cumbered with its burdens, they have lost neither the patience from which comes clearness, nor the faith from which comes courage. Nor, sir, when in passionate

moments is disclosed to them that vague and awful shadow with its lurid abysses and its crimson stains, into which, I pray God, they may never go, are they struck with more of apprehension than is needed to complete their consecration!

Such is the temper of my people. But what of the problem itself? Mr. President, we need not go one step further unless you concede right here that the people I speak for are as honest as sensible, and as just as your people, and seeking as earnest as you would in their place, to rightly solve a problem that touches them at every vital point. If you insist that they are ruffians, blindly striving with bludgeon and shotgun to plunder and oppress a race, then I shall tax your patience in vain. But admit that they are men of common-sense and common honesty—wisely modifying an environment they cannot wholly disregard—guiding and controlling as best they can the vicious and irresponsible of either race—compensating error with frankness, and retrieving in patience what they lose in passion and conscious all the time that wrong means ruin—admit this, and we may reach an understanding to-night.

The President of the United States, in his late message to Congress, discussing the plea that the South should be left to solve this problem, asks: "Are they at work upon it? What solution do they offer? When will the black man cast a free ballot? When will he have the civil right that is his?" I shall not here protest against a partisanry that for the first time in our history, in time of peace, has stamped, with the great seal of our government, a stigma upon the people of a great loyal section; though I gratefully remember that the great dead soldier who held the helm of State for the eight stormiest years of reconstruction never found need for such a step—and though I can think of no personal sacrifice I would not make to remove this cruel and unjust imputation on my people from the archives of my country.

But, sir, backed by a record on every page of which is proof, I venture to make earnest and respectful answer to the questions that are asked. I bespeak your patience, while with righteous plainness of speech, seeking your judgment rather than your applause, I proceed step by step.

We give to the world this year a crop of 7,500,000 bales of cotton, worth \$450,000,000, and its cash equivalent in grain

sses, and fruit. This enormous crop could not have come from the hands of sullen and discontented labor. It comes from the peaceful fields in which laughter and gossip rise above the hum of industry, and contentment runs with the singing of the plough. It is claimed that this ignorant labor is defrauded of its just hire. I present the tax-books of Georgia, which show that the negro, twenty-five years ago a slave, has in Georgia alone \$10,000,000 of assessed property, worth twice that much. Does not that record honor him and vindicate his neighbors? What other people, penniless and illiterate, has done so well? For every "Afro-American" agitator, stirring the strife in which alone he prospers, I can show you a hundred negroes, happy in their cabin homes, tilling their own land by day, and at night taking from the lips of their children the helpful message their State sends them from their schoolhouse door. And the schoolhouse itself bears testimony. In Georgia we expended last year \$250,000 to the school fund, making a total of more than \$1,000,000, and yet forty-nine per cent. of the beneficiaries are black children—and this in face of the doubt of many wise men if education helps, or can help our problem. Charleston, with her taxable values cut half in two since 1860, pays more in proportion for public schools than Boston. Although it is easier to give much out of much than little out of little, the South, with one-seventh of the taxable property of the country, with a relatively larger debt, having received only one-tenth as much of public lands, and having back of its tax-books none of the half billion of bonds that enrich the North, yet gives nearly one-sixth of the public school funds. The South, since 1865, has spent \$122,000,000 in education, and this year is pledged \$37,000,000 more for State and city schools—although the blacks, paying one-thirtieth of the taxes, get nearly one-half of the fund. Go into our fields and see whites and blacks working side by side. On our buildings in the same squad. In our shops at the same forge. Often the blacks crowd the whites from work, or lower wages by their greater need or simpler habits, and yet are permitted to do so because we want to bar them from no avenue in which their talents are fitted to tread. They could not there be elected orators at white universities, as they have been here, but they do enter where a hundred useful trades that are closed against them here.

We hold it better and wiser to tend the weeds in the garden than to water the exotic in the window. In the south there are negro lawyers, teachers, editors, dentists, doctors, preachers, working in peace and multiplying with the increasing ability of their race to support 'nem. In villages and towns they have their military companies equipped from the armories of the State, their churches and societies built and supported largely by their neighbors. What is the testimony of the courts?

In penal legislation we have steadily reduced felonies to misdemeanors, and have led the world in mitigating punishment for crime, that we might save, as far as possible, this dependent race from its own weakness. In our penitentiary record sixty per cent. of the prosecutors are negroes and in every court the negro criminal challenges the colored juror, that white men may judge his case. In the North one negro in every one hundred and eighty-five is in jail; in the South only one in four hundred and forty-six. In the North, the percentage of negro prisoners is six times as great as that of native whites; in the South, only four times as great. If prejudice wrong him in Southern courts, the record shows it to be deeper in Northern courts. I assert here, and a bar as intelligent and upright as the bar of Massachusetts will solemnly indorse my assertion, that in the Southern courts, from highest to lowest, in pleading for either liberty or property, the negro has distinct advantage because he is a negro, apt to be overreached, oppressed—and that this advantage reaches from the juror in making his verdict to the judge in measuring his sentence. Now, Mr. President, can it be seriously maintained that we are terrorizing the people from whose willing hands come every year \$1,000,000,000 of farm crops, or have robbed a people, who in twenty-five years from unrewarded slavery, have amassed in one State \$20,000,000 of property? Or that we intend to oppress the people we are arming every day? We "deceive" them, when we are educating them to the utmost limit of our ability? Or "outlaw" them, when we work side by side with them? Or "re-enslave" them under legal forms, when for their benefit we have even imprudently narrowed the limit of felonies and mitigated the severity of the law? My fellow-countrymen, as you yourselves may sometimes have to appeal at the bar of human judgment for justice and for right, give to my people to-night

the fair and unanswerable conclusion of these incontestable facts!

But it is claimed that under this fair-seeming there is disorder and violence. This I admit. And there will be until there is one ideal community on earth after which we may pattern. But how widely is it misjudged. It is hard to measure with exactness whatever touches the negro. His helplessness, his isolation, his century of servitude, these dispose us to emphasize and magnify his wrongs. This disposition has been inflamed by prejudice and partisanry until it has led to injustice and delusion. Lawless men may ravage a county in Iowa, and it is accepted as an incident. In the South a drunken row is declared to be the fixed habit of the community. Regulators may whip vagabonds in Indiana by platoons, and it scarcely arrests attention; a chance collision in the South among relatively the same classes is gravely accepted as evidence that one race is destroying the other. We might as well claim that the Union was ungrateful to the colored soldiers who followed its flag, because a Grand Army post in Connecticut closed its doors to a negro veteran, as for you to give racial significance to every incident in the South, or to accept exceptional grounds as the rule of our society. I am not of those who becloud American honor with the parade of the outrages of other sections, and belie American character by declaring them to be significant and representative. I prefer to maintain that they are neither, and stand for nothing but the passion and sin of our fallen humanity. If society, like a machine, were no stronger than its weakest part, I should despair of both sections. But, knowing that society, sentient and responsible in every fiber, can mend and repair until the whole has the strength of the best, I despair of neither. These gentlemen who come with me here, knit into Georgia's busy life as they are, never saw, I dare assert, an outrage committed on the negro! And if they did, no one of you would be swifter to prevent or punish it. It is through them that the men who think with them—making nine-tenths of every Southern community—that these two races have been carried thus far with less of violence than would have been possible anywhere else on earth. And in

the laws than can be passed or all the bayonets that can be mustered—is the hope of our future!

But admitting the right of the whites to unite against this tremendous menace, we are challenged with the smallness of our vote. This has long been flippantly charged to be evidence of political turpitude and baseness on our part. Let us see Virginia—a State now under fierce assault for this alleged crime—cast in 1888, seventy-five per cent. of her vote. Massachusetts, the State in which I speak, sixty per cent. of her vote. Was it suppression in Virginia and natural causes in Massachusetts? Last month Virginia cast sixty per cent. of her vote, and Massachusetts, fighting in every district, cast only forty-nine per cent. of hers. If Virginia is condemned because thirty-one per cent. of her vote was silent, how shall this State escape, in which fifty-one per cent. was dumb? Let us enlarge this comparison. The sixteen Southern States in 1888 cast sixty-seven per cent. of the total vote; the six Northern England States but sixty-three per cent. of theirs. By what fair rule shall the stigma be put upon one section, while the other escapes? A Congressional election in New York last week, with the polling place in reach of every voter, brought out only 6,000 votes of 28,000—and the lack of opposition was assigned as the natural cause. In a district in my State in which an opposition speech has not been heard in ten years and the polling places are miles apart—under the unfair reasoning of which my section has been a constant victim—the small vote is charged to be proof of forcible suppression.

In Virginia an average majority of 10,000, under hopeful division of the minority, was raised to 42,000. In Iowa, in the same election, a majority of 32,000 was wiped out and an opposition majority of 8,000 was established. The change of 32,000 votes in Iowa is accepted as political revolution; in Virginia an increase of 32,000 on a safe majority is declared to be proof of political fraud. I charge these facts and figures honestly, to the heart and conscience of the American people who will not assuredly see one section condemned for what another section is pardoned!

If I can drive these facts through the prejudice of the party, can and have them read and pondered at the fireside of the

zen, I will rest on the judgment there formed and the verdict there rendered!

It is deplorable, sir, that in both sections a larger percentage of the vote is not regularly cast. But it is more inexplicable that this should be so in New England, than in the South. What invites the negro to the ballot-box? He knows that of all men, it has promised him most and yielded him least. His first appeal to suffrage was the promise of "forty acres and a mule." His second the threat that Democratic success meant his re-enslavement. Both have been proved false in his experience. He looked for a home, and he got the Freedmen's Bank. He fought under promise of the loaf, and in victory was denied the crumbs. Discouraged and deceived, he has realized at last that his best friends are his neighbors with whom his lot is cast, and whose prosperity is bound up in his, and that he has gained nothing in politics to compensate the loss of their confidence and sympathy that is at last his best and enduring hope.

And so, without leaders or organization—and lacking the resolute heroism of my party friends in Vermont, that makes their hopeless march over the hills a high and inspiring pilgrimage—he shrewdly balances his little account with politics, touches up his mule, and jogs down the furrow, letting the mad world wag as it will!

The negro vote can never control in the South, and it would be well if partisans at the North would understand this. I have seen the white people of a State set about by black hosts until their fate seemed sealed. But, sir, some brave men, banding them together, would rise, as Elisha rose in beleaguered Samaria, and, touching their eyes with faith, bid them look abroad to see the very air "filled with the chariots of Israel and the horsemen thereof." If there is any human force that cannot be withstood, it is the power of the banded intelligence and responsibility of a free community. Against it numbers and corruption cannot prevail. It cannot be forbidden in the law or divorced in force. It is the unalterable right of every free community—the just and righteous safeguard against an ignorant or corrupt suffrage. It is on this, sir, that we rely in the South. Not the cowardly menace of the mask or shotgun,

massed and unified for the protection of its homes and the preservation of its liberty. That, sir, is our reliance and hope, and against it all the powers of earth shall not prevail. It was just as certain that Virginia would come back to the unchallenged control of her white race—that before the moral and material power of her people once more unified, opposition would crumble until its last desperate leader was left alone vainly striving to rally his disordered hosts—as that night should fade in the kindling glory of the sun.

You may pass force bills, but they will not avail. You may surrender your own liberties to Federal election laws—this old State which holds in its character the boast that it “is a free and independent commonwealth” may deliver its election machinery into the hands of the government it helped to create—but never, sir, will a single State of this Union, North or South, be delivered again to the control of an ignorant and inferior race. We wrested our State government from negro supremacy when the federal drum-beat rolled closer to the ballot-box and federal bayonets hedged it deeper about than will ever again be permitted in this free government. But, sir, though the cannon of this republic thundered in every voting district at the South, we still should find in the mercy of God the means and courage to prevent its re-establishment.

I regret, sir, that my section, hindered with this problem, cannot align itself with the North, and stands in seeming estrangement from it. If, sir, any man will point out to me a path down which the white people of the South, divided, may walk in peace and honor, I will take that path, though I took it alone, for at its end, and nowhere else, I fear, is to be found the full prosperity of my section and the full restoration of this Union. But, sir, if the negro had not been enfranchised, the South would have been divided and the republic united. His enfranchisement—against which I enter no protest—holds the South united and compact. What solution can we offer for the problem? Time alone can disclose it to us. We simply report progress, and ask your patience. If the problem be solved at all—and I firmly believe it will, though nowhere else has it been—it will be solved by the people most deeply bound in interest, most deeply pledged in honor to its solution. I would rather see my people render back this question rightly

solved than to see them gather all the spoils over which faction has contended since Catiline conspired and Cæsar fought. Meantime, we treat the negro fairly, measuring to him justice in the fulness the strong should give to the weak, and leading him in the steadfast ways of citizenship, that he may no longer be the prey of the unscrupulous and the sport of the thoughtless. We open to him every pursuit in which he can prosper, and seek to broaden his training and capacity. We seek to hold his confidence and friendship, and to pin him to the soil with ownership, that he may catch in the fire of his own hearthstone that sense of responsibility the shiftless can never know.

And we gather him into that alliance of property and knowledge that, though it runs close to racial lines, welcomes the responsible and intelligent of any race. By this course, confirmed in our judgment, and justified in the progress already made, we hope to progress slowly but surely to the end.

The love we feel for that race you cannot measure nor comprehend. As I attest it here, the spirit of my old "black mammy," from her home up there, looks down on me to bless, and through the tumult of this night, steals the sweet music of her croonings. Thirty years ago she held me in her black arms or led me smiling into sleep. This scene vanishes as I speak, and I catch a vision of an old Southern home with its lofty pillars and its white pigeons fluttering down through the golden air. I see women with strained and anxious faces, and children alert, yet helpless. I see night come down with its dangers and apprehensions, and in a big and homely room I feel on my tired head the touch of loving hands—now worn and wrinkled, but fairer to me yet than the hands of mortal woman, and stronger yet to lead me than the hands of mortal man—as they lay a mother's blessing there, while at her knees—the truest altar I yet have found—I thank God that she is safe in her sanctuary, because her slaves, sentinel in the silent cabin, or on guard at her chamber door, put a black man's loyalty between her and danger.

I catch another vision. The crisis of battle—a soldier struck, staggering, fallen. I see a slave, struggling through the smoke, winding his black arms about the fallen form, reckless of lurking death—bending his trusty face to catch the words that tremble on the stricken lips, so wrestling meantime with agony

that he would lay down his life in his master's stead. I see him by the weary bedside, ministering with uncomplaining patience, praying with all his humble heart that God will lift his master up, until death comes in mercy and in honor to still the soldier's agony and seal the soldier's life. I see him by the open grave, mute, motionless, uncovered, suffering for the death of him who in life fought against his freedom. I see him when the mound is heaped and the great drama of his life is closed, turn away and, with downcast eyes and uncertain step, start out into new and strange fields, faltering, struggling, but moving on, until his shambling figure is lost in the light of a better and a brighter day. And from the grave comes a voice saying "Follow him! Put your arms about him in his need, even as he put his about me. Be his friend as he was mine." And out into this new world—strange to me as to him, dazzling, bewildering both—I follow! And may God forget my people—when they forget these!

Whatever the future may hold for them—whether they plod along in the servitude from which they have never been lifted since the Cyrenian was laid hold upon by the Roman soldier and made to bear the cross of the fainting Christ—whether they find homes again in Africa, and thus hasten the prophecy of the Psalmist who said: "And suddenly Ethiopia shall hold out her hand unto God"—whether forever dislocated and separate, they remain a weak people, beset by stronger, and exist as the Turk, who lives in the jealousy, rather than in the conscience of Europe—or whether in this miraculous republic they break through the caste of twenty centuries and, belying universal history, reach the full stature of citizenship and in peace maintain it, we shall give them uttermost justice and abiding friendship. And whatever we do, into whatever seeming estrangement we may be driven, nothing shall disturb the love we bear this republic, or mitigate our consecration to its service. I stand here, Mr. President, to profess no new loyalty. When General Lee, whose heart was the temple of our hopes and whose arm was clothed with our strength, renewed his allegiance to this government at Appomattox, he spoke from a heart too great to be false, and he spoke for every honest man from Maryland to Texas. From that day to this, Hamilcar has no

where in the South sworn young Hannibal to hatred and vengeance—but everywhere to loyalty and love. Witness the veteran standing at the base of a Confederate monument, above the graves of his comrades, his empty sleeve tossing in the April wind, adjuring the young men about him to serve as honest and loyal citizens the government against which their fathers fought. This message, delivered from that sacred presence, has gone home to the hearts of my fellows! And, sir, I declare here, if physical courage be always equal to human aspiration, that they would die, sir, if need be, to restore this republic their fathers fought to dissolve!

Such, Mr. President, is this problem as we see it, such the temper in which we approach it, such the progress made. What do we ask of you? First, patience; out of this alone can come perfect work. Second, confidence; in this alone can you judge fairly. Third, sympathy; in this you can help us best. Fourth, loyalty to the republic—for there is sectionalism in loyalty as in estrangement. This hour little needs the loyalty that is loyal to one section, and yet holds the other in enduring suspicion and estrangement. Give us the broad and perfect loyalty that loves and trusts Georgia alike with Massachusetts—that “knows no South, no North, no East, no West”; but endears with equal and patriotic love every foot of our soil, every State of our Union.

A mighty duty, sir, and a mighty inspiration impels every one of us to-night to lose in patriotic consecration whatever estranges, whatever divides. We, sir, are Americans—and we fight for human liberty! The uplifting force of the American idea is under every throne on earth. France, Brazil—these are our victories. To redeem the earth from kingcraft and oppression—this is our mission! and we shall not fail. God has sown in our soil the seed of his millennial harvest, and he will not lay the sickle to the ripening crop until his full and perfect day has come. Our history, sir, has been a constant and expanding miracle from Plymouth Rock and Jamestown all the way—aye, even from the hour, when, from the voiceless and trackless ocean, a new world rose to the sight of the inspired sailor. As we approach the fourth centennial of that stupendous day—when the Old World will come to marvel and to learn, amid our

gathered pleasures—let us resolve to crown the miracles of our
past with the spectacle of a republic compact, united, indis-
soluble in the bonds of love—loving from the Lakes to the
Gulf—the wounds of war healed in every heart as on every hill
—serene and resplendent at the summit of human achievement
and earthly glory—blazing out the path and making clear the
way up which all the nations of the earth must come in God's
appointed time!

PEACE IN THE WAKE OF VICTORY

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BY

JOHN IRELAND

Archbishop of St. Paul

JOHN IRELAND, ARCHBISHOP OF ST. PAUL

John Ireland was born of humble parentage at Burnchurch, County Kilkenny, Ireland, September 11, 1838. His parents emigrated to America when he was eleven years of age, and settled at St. Paul, Minnesota. He was early destined for the priesthood, and received his primary education at the cathedral school of St. Paul. In 1853 he was sent to France to enter upon his theological studies at the Seminary of Meximieux and, later, at a similar institution at Hyères near Toulon, where he remained till the outbreak of the Civil War. He returned to America at the beginning of the Civil War and was appointed chaplain to the Fifth Minnesota Regiment. He subsequently became rector of St. Paul's Cathedral and secretary to the diocese of St. Paul and was chosen to represent his Bishop at the Vatican council in Rome. On his return from Rome he was appointed titular Bishop of Maronea and, in December, 1875, coadjutor to the Bishop of St. Paul. In 1888, when the diocese of St. Paul was erected into a metropolitan see, he was installed as its first archbishop.

Archbishop Ireland has for some time enjoyed a national reputation and is one of the prominent men of the day. Besides the permanent and active interest he has taken in the cause of temperance and education, he made himself widely known by a colonization plan which he carried out successfully nearly twenty-five years ago in his own State. He was one of the prime movers in the establishment of the Catholic University at Washington, and, together with Bishop Keane of Richmond, Va., went to Rome to further this object. In 1891 the Archbishop came again prominently before the public in connection with the so-called "Fari-bault plan" of education, promulgated with his approval. The plan was conceived with a view to arrive at a compromise between the conflicting principles governing the Roman Catholic and the American public schools. Though the plan failed, partly on account of the opposition to it in the Church itself, partly to a strong agitation outside of it, Archbishop Ireland's reputation for sagacity and good judgment suffered in no way from this enterprise. He is one of the most prominent men of the Church to-day, and his talents have received fitting recognition both at home and abroad. "Peace in the Wake of Victory" is considered one of his finest orations.

PEACE IN THE WAKE OF VICTORY

Delivered at St. Paul, Minnesota, July 10, 1898

BY solemn proclamation the President of the United States has invited citizens to assemble to-day in their churches to thank God for victories obtained by the army and the navy of the United States, and to pray that peace be speedily restored to the nations at present engaged in deadly warfare. It is a grand fact which all Christians should delight in taking cognizance of, that in the midst of the war in which the country has been engaged, the chief magistrate of the nation should request the people of America to pause and to acknowledge that above armies and navies there is a supreme power holding in his hand the destinies of nations and disposing of those nations for his own designs, even beyond the power and valor of their armies and their navies.

The spectacle which America offers to-day to the world, bowing the head to the Almighty, is sublime; those of her citizens to whom religion is dear must rejoice that his solemn recognition of God is given by this great nation. A spectacle such as this honors America far more than the prowess of armies, and gives hope that in the future, as in the present, America shall be, God willing, a great, a powerful, a prosperous nation.

Yes, God reigns in the highest. Intelligence which evoked from nothing created things, distributing them through space with such order and power that the smallest of created things proclaims his grandeur. That intelligence has not withdrawn into eternal solitude from his creation; has not abandoned his creation to blind, inexorable laws, but governs it, watches over it, disposes its movements to his own greater glory and the greater welfare of the children of men. God remains the omnipotent! It were blasphemy to say that he is not to be considered in the things of the world. He remains the all good

father. "Our Father who art in heaven." It were a crime to say that he does not think of us; that he does not dispose of us according to the dictates of his supreme love. Not a hair from our heads, said the Man God, falls to the ground without His knowing it, and if He has care of the grasses of the field, and of the birds of the air, how much more of you children of men, of you of little faith?

And if God watches over individual man, with how much greater care He watches over those great social organizations in the welfare of which is wrapped up the welfare of millions of men. He is the God of men and the God of nations. He is the ruler of armies and of sovereign powers, and from the first day that humanity entered upon its course God has directed its movements, its evolutions; hurrying not, for ages are to him as moments, but never ceasing His divine working. God has directed the movements and evolutions of humanity for the great purposes which His own wisdom has formed. As the great nations of antiquity rose and triumphed under his hand, so to-day under his hand America triumphs and America moves forward into a new era of greatness; into new possibilities of good for her citizens, for the world at large. Results often come when not foreseen by the human actors who are the instruments, the occasions of the working out of God's great purposes.

How much America owes to Almighty God! It is He who in the formation of this continent made it so fertile, so beautiful that no other abode of man compares with it in richness and in promise. It is he who willed that a century ago a people should arise on this continent, putting forth before the world high ideals of liberty, and of popular government, ideals which America from the first held up before the nations, although even in her own practice those ideals were not at once realized. It is He who thirty-five years ago, when the very life of the nation was menaced, decreed that her banner should remain without stain, and that not one star should be wrested from it. To-day, when war again has come to us it is He who wills that victory be ours, and that America be ready for new growth and new development.

I detract not from the bravery and the valor of American sailors and American seamen. God demands the co-operations of His human instruments, but He overrules them often for

His own purposes, and we bow in solemn gratitude that when in distributing favors to nations He willed that victory belonged to the flag of America. We thank God not only for the victories that have come, but for the certainty which results from this war that America has within herself the elements of greatness, the courage, the patriotism, the will to die for country, which are the necessary qualities in the formation of a great people. We have to thank God for this fact that America to-day before the nations of the world stands erect, a great power amidst those nations, meriting and obtaining homage from them. We thank God that this greatness has come to America because of the ideals which we believe that Providence has assigned to her, and in view of which Providence has willed that she conquer.

Why has God given to us victory and greatness? It is not that we take pride in our power. It is not that we gather in for our pleasures the wealth of the world. It is that Almighty God has assigned to this republic the mission of putting before the world the ideal of popular liberty, the ideal of the high elevation of all humanity. To ancient Rome, without her seeking, a great mission was allotted. It was to prepare the world for the coming of the Saviour, and when nations were at peace because Rome commanded, when highways led out from the Roman forum to the farthest coast of Britain and of Egypt, Christ was born and his apostle entered into the city of Rome, the site of the new empire. So God to-day has chosen America for a high purpose, to exemplify before the world popular liberty and popular government, and through such liberty and such government the elevation of humanity at large.

It is not surely our belief that these great ideals shall be realized for the world merely through material wealth or material power. Above material wealth and material power virtue of the heart is needed, a submission of mind to God's truth is needed, but God, who rules all things and who has chosen this country for great purposes, will know how to bring to the country the graces which she needs to fulfil the mission assigned to her. For all those favors to America we thank Thee, God of nations, we thank Thee, Father Supreme, we pledge ourselves to be loyal to all Thy great designs, and to co-operate with Thy omnipotence in making America the nation which Thou thyself

hast designed her to be. We thank God for the victo America. We thank God for the great things which are to America through these victories.

Present glory and power have come to America through We may well wish that peace and not war had brought blessings; yet it seems as we glance over the history of manity that war is one of those mysterious dispensations of God above, through which He works out His ends, and was before that supreme dispensation of His power. But war is terrible, and while we rejoice because of what has come to us, we must regret the evils that follow from it. Our hearts go out in sympathy to fathers and mothers, to wives and children, to dear ones have been slain in battle. Our hearts go out in sympathy to the soldiers suffering in hospital tent, in a climate torrid in its torrid heat, and I should be unfaithful to my human sympathies, to my duty to all men, did I not say that our hearts go out in sympathy to the suffering ones of the nation against whom war has had to be waged by America. And I add that America would not be worthy of the great ideals which God has put before her as her mission if this sympathy were refused to the defeated nation. I add that it were most unworthy of the greatness of the American people to permit that their own country should in any way be tarnished by wrong treatment of the people we call our enemy.

Because of my loyalty to America, because of my love for her, I take this occasion to protest against those American fancies they can glorify all the more their own country by lying and calumniating defeated Spain. It is not right; it is American to scatter through the country statements about Spanish people that are untrue. It is not right to say that they are superstitious. They are faithful disciples of the Catholic Church. It is untrue to say that they are ferocious and thirsty. They are a chivalrous nation, worthy to be met on a battlefield by the flower of American chivalry. It is not true, as some papers say, that even the womanhood of Spain is of a degraded type. There is no purer womanhood on the surface of the earth than the womanhood of Spain; no more faithful wives and honored daughters than the women of Spain. It is not fair to go back two, three or four hundred years, seeking stains to be affixed to the present escutcheon of Spain.

country will bear this microscopic examination, and what country can stand up before the eyes of the world to-day and say, "Oh, in the past, we never in peace or war did a cruel or a barbarous act"?

In a fair comparison I will put Spain side by side with any nation of Europe. We gain nothing by such unfair, unjust statements. We lower ourselves in lowering our antagonists. The law of olden time always demanded that valiant knight should measure lance with the valiant knight; and Americans should be glad to say that they have had to combat with no decadent race and with no unworthy foe.

It is not true that the Spanish race is worn out and has done nothing for civilization. They have civilized the whole South American continent, preserving and bringing into the fold of Christianity millions of the aboriginal races. The Spanish race is not merely the Spain in Europe. It is all South America, it is Mexico—nations which, from the accounts of American writers themselves, are going forth in material development to such a degree as to challenge the admiration and defy competition of other prouder races.

I am glad to render justice to our enemy. I would be ashamed to lie about her. My country would be ashamed that I should lie about her. And I know the American people as a people do not wish to calumniate their enemy; but some scribblers of papers are willing to say anything that they think will please the rapid reader, forgetting that calumniæ react more against the calumniator than against the calumniated.

And I protest in the name of Americanism, in the name of American chivalry and American liberty, an aspersion against the religion of Spain. The war is not one of religion; it is one of national purposes, and Catholic theology tells us that we must stand with our country, and facts show that we do; and because we stand so manifestly and so honorably with our own country we have a right to say to any who would insult the religion of Spain that you insult the religion of American citizens, and you shall not be permitted to do it.

This word in favor of Spain to-day, in favor of the church, of the religion of Spain, coming from a heart of whose Americanism no one can doubt, is given in the very name of America, of American honor and American liberty, and is given to-day

on this morning when we sing the *Te Deum* with our whole soul that God has made America victorious, and that God is opening to America a career of grandeur, which He seems to have kept from all other nations in the world of modern times.

Having bidden us to thank God for our victories, the President of the United States bids us pray that peace may come. The chieftain of America prays for peace and bids the people pray for peace. Magnanimous McKinley, worthy chieftain of a great people! Victory should tempt to further warfare a selfish, an ambitious ruler. Our President pauses when victory is gaining, for the honor of the nation is saved, the purposes of the war are secured and continued warfare is but the play of pride and of brutal power. This is McKinley's honor; he courted peace before war. He did all he could to avert war, to secure by peace all the beneficent results which war could bring. War coming as the loyal subject of the republic he waged it with vigor, with skill. When its purposes are served his heart speaks out its first love—peace. This is noble, generous, magnanimous.

May God then, we pray, so dispose minds and hearts in Spain and in America that no more of our brother men, Spaniards or Americans, be slain, that no more hearts of mothers and wives be wrung in anguish. O Father of men, grant us peace!

Beautiful the tidings that the electric current will this evening speed across the Atlantic—that victorious America, people and President, prays for peace—this is noblest chivalry, this is America's great glory. Such a people as Americans to-day prove themselves will be magnanimous in good-will toward opponents, and while honor and justice must be severely guarded, no mean motive, no low ambition, no cruel thought of vengeance will enter into the terms of peace which America will demand of Spain. We have been noble and heroic in battle. No braver and more unselfish men live than our soldiers and seamen; let us be brave and heroic in our chivalry when the war is closing and peace is ready to spread over us her angelic wings. We pray too that when peace has come God's designs upon our country be worked out by Him in power and love.

What is to-day before America? It is difficult to say. I believe that none see to-day as far as God sees the destinies of America. There are discussions among Americans as to what

should be the policy of the country, whether it should restrain itself within present geographical limitations, or allow its flag to be carried eastward and westward over seas and oceans into new and unaccustomed climates. I shall not discuss those questions; I will say that whatever will come will come through God's providence, will come by the natural workings of things despite our counsels or our will. If God wishes that America lift up her banner across seas and continents; if God wills that she, the giantess of to-day, adopt a policy ill suited to the child of one hundred years ago, I am satisfied to say "Thy will be done."

And let us pray for our own selves, the people of America. We do not read history aright if we do not confess that the ingratitude and the sinfulness of a people at times retard and even nullify God's will. He wishes that we be worthy of His graces; let America before God to-day recognize that her future greatness will not be in an increased army, that it will not be in a multiplication of her ships of commerce, that it will not be in new legislation, it will be in virtues of her children, it will be in their submission to the supreme laws of God, which are the laws of righteousness, and without which obedience no nation can ever prosper.

If time allowed me I might ask the question what is to be the future of the Catholic Church, whose disciples we are, in this new era, this new order of things? God has His hand upon His Church. She never suffered in olden revolutions, when the colonies of Spain throughout South America separated from the mother-country. Religion put on in those South American republics greater vigor with the new liberties granted, and the Catholic Church reigns even more triumphant to-day in those republics than when the Spanish flag was lifted over them. A flag is not the cross. Men may separate from a flag and cling closer to the cross. The Church of Christ is not confined to any island or peninsula; all the nations of the earth belong to it. If Spain's flag is lowered in Cuba and in the Philippine Islands and elsewhere, the Church remains. Her priests will not falter in their courage, and they will have greater liberty. In Catholic countries church and state have become so united that while good comes from it in some sense, evil also comes from it. The friendly hand of the state frequently goes too far and mingles in

things, which are not of the province of the state, and nowhere is the Catholic Church so much herself as when we proclaim "to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, but to God the things of God without call or intervention of Cæsar." I am willing to say that when the Catholic Church shall stand in those distant islands on her own feet, with the power of her own arm, with the vigor of her own faith and of her own sacraments, she will be stronger than when Spain's banner was extended over her head, as it were, in protection.

So as Catholics we do not fear. We know that in other countries the Church will not suffer. As Catholics in America we have the right to sing the *Te Deum* for America's victories. We have the right to look with joy to the new era of America's greatness opening before her, for we are her children; we yield to none in loyalty to America. As this war progresses there is not a battle on land or sea, we thank God for it, in which Catholic sailors and soldiers do not bare their breasts to the enemy in defence of America. The records show that in proportion to their numbers in population in America, in a very large number of States at least, Catholics have given more than their number in soldiers to the defence of America. It is but their duty, since they are loyal citizens, and I praise them not for it. Yes, as Catholics we have the right which comes from our citizenship, which comes from our loyalty, which comes from our deeds, to salute the American flag, to rejoice in her glory, and to wish her all the greatness and all the blessings in the future which the great God of nations holds in store for her.

